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CENTRAL ASIA  
PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF  
GENERAL JOSIAH HARLAN  
1823-1841









# CENTRAL ASIA

Personal Narrative of  
GENERAL JOSIAH HARLAN

1823-1841

EDITED BY

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Formerly of the Research Staff  
*Dictionary of American Biography*



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## BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

JOSIAH HARLAN was beyond doubt a unique figure in the history of Central Asia. He was in a sense a pioneer : the first American to operate in that part of the world. The fact in itself increased enormously his danger—a danger that to this day hovers, like a hungry vulture, above the foreigner in Afghanistan. Harlan's native land was a struggling republic of the western hemisphere. She could offer no protection to a wandering son in the heart of Asia. English *entrepreneurs*, on the other hand, enjoyed an unequalled protection in foreign lands, and if foul play occurred, His Britannic Majesty's Government at once sought explanations and probably administered punishment. Mere suspicion of something untoward obtained immediate notice. The Government of India made a continued effort over a period of years to solve the mystery of the ill-fated expedition of William Moorcroft, following Moorcroft's death in Central Asia in 1825. Other travellers in Afghanistan had the aid of their governments at least as a lurking potentiality. Harlan enjoyed only the protection of his abilities. They were more than sufficient.

In point of time the period of Harlan's appearance on the Central Asian stage is historically important. Shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century the British Government feared a possible invasion of India via Afghanistan by the Emperor Napoleon I. This fear resulted in the mission of Mountstuart Elphinstone to the latter country and the subsequent treaty of alliance between His Britannic Majesty's Government and Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, King of

<sup>1</sup> There are two biographies of Harlan by Frank E. Ross : a short sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VIII (New York, 1932), p. 272, and an article entitled, "An American Adventurer in Central Asia," published in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, India), December, 1933.



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Kabul, in 1809. The French threat subsided, and during the years immediately preceding Harlan's advent was succeeded by another, the steady southern march of the Russian bear. English and Russian interests definitely began to clash in Afghanistan during Harlan's sojourn, as evidenced by the Vikovich and Burnes missions to Kabul and the siege of Herat by the Persians. Before Harlan departed, the British had invaded Afghanistan and driven a supposedly pro-Russian monarch into exile.

As a source for the history of Afghanistan for the period, the manuscript is important. The numerous civil wars that have torn Afghanistan, destroyed state, local and family archives. For information concerning the era of Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, one has to rely upon the writings of foreigners, chiefly British or British agents: native sources simply do not exist. The fact that Harlan was non-British establishes the exceptional interest and value of his narrative. Curiously, he was at no time a figure of importance in America. His name will not be found in any history of the United States or even of his native State of Pennsylvania. In Central Asia, however, he attained some degree of fame. Mention of him is made in the histories of the Punjab and of Afghanistan, and he attracted the attention of contemporary observers, who refer to him either by name or indirectly by a delineation of his activities. Such considerations more than justify the writing and publishing of this work.

The best guarantee of the manuscript's reliability is the accuracy of Harlan's geography. Professor Felix Howland, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a member of the faculty of Habibia College, Kabul, Afghanistan, who has travelled extensively in Afghanistan, states that the modern geographer will have little fault to find with the geographical detail, save the figures given for the elevation of mountain passes, which were estimates by Harlan or others. Harlan may have exalted his own person a little in his remarks, says Professor Howland, but adds that "there is nothing improbable in the manuscript."

In point of time the narrative was written by Harlan

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during a period of years. Portions were prepared while the author was still in Afghanistan, but one section was written as late as May, 1858, in Pennsylvania. It is apparent that Harlan had before him his diary or journal and that Part II of this work is a part of the journal. Unfortunately the journal itself no longer exists, although extracts from the journal were printed in *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), January 20th, 1842. About ten years ago the house of Harlan's daughter, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, was destroyed by fire and several "milk cans" filled with General Harlan's manuscript notes, letters and journals were consumed. Fortunately the present narrative had come into the possession of the Chester County Historical Society, of West Chester, some years earlier (1908).

Josiah Harlan, ninth child of Joshua Harlan, Philadelphia "merchant broker," and Sarah (Hinchman) Harlan, was born in Newlin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., on June 12th, 1799. Both parents were members of the Society of Friends. The American ancestor was Michael Harlan, great grandfather of Joshua Harlan. Michael Harlan, who was born near Durham, England, emigrated to County Down, Ireland, and in 1687 to the New World across the Western Ocean. Harlan finally settled in Chester County, in the Province of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

In 1823 young Josiah Harlan journeyed to the East Indies. There he found hostilities in progress and doctors much in demand. Although there is no record that Harlan ever studied medicine, he entered the service of the East India Company as an officiating assistant surgeon and was attached to Colonel George Pollock's Bengal Artillery during the First Burmese War.<sup>2</sup> Harlan's brother Richard (1796-1843) was a doctor and subsequently attained some degree of fame as a naturalist. Josiah may have taken a few of his brother's medical books with him and then

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Harlan, *History and Genealogy of the Harlan Family* (1914), pp. 139, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Asiatic Journal* (London), March, 1841; interview with Harlan, in *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), January 20th, 1842.

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decided to use their contents in treating persons other than himself. Certainly young Josiah's later career causes this hypothesis to seem both reasonable and probable. It is quite in keeping with his character.

At the close of the war Harlan resigned from the British Army (1826) and proceeded to Ludhiana, in northern India. There lived Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, ex-king of Kabul, whose court was sustained upon British bounty. Shah Shujah belonged to the legitimist family of Afghan rulers, the Duranis, and had been succeeded upon the throne, after an interregnum, by Dost Mohammed Khan, a member of the Barakzye tribe. Harlan attached himself to the shifting fortunes of Shah Shujah, and that personage generously bestowed upon him a broad commission to revolutionise Afghanistan in the Shah's interest. The task was not as impossible as would appear at first sight. The ruler of Afghanistan in that day maintained himself only by prestige and a constant outpouring of bribes and favours to the tribal chieftains. The latter were loyal only so long as loyalty yielded ample dividends. Their ears were always open to counter-proposals. The situation could change without warning and frequently did. Sovereignty was an exceedingly uncertain commodity. One moment the Amir of Kabul might be a potent monarch, in the next he might be an object of ridicule, an outcast whose life would be very precarious, if indeed it existed at all. Fully cognizant of Afghan political philosophy, Harlan accepted his commission as a secret agent and journeyed into Afghanistan disguised as a *dervish*. Of his visit to Kabul, Harlan wrote :

I became a guest in the house of the reigning Prince's *brother*, under whose patronage, and by whose assistance, I determined to effect my purpose. Let no Christian be deceived by the fraternal appellation. Amongst the customs of the Orientals, we meet with strange perversions of our commonest received principles, and the term brother, in a community which springs from a system of polygamy, means a natural enemy, a domestic adversary, expectant heir of a capricious parent, contending for mastery in the disturbed arena of family feuds ; and any other signification of conflicting import with the kind affections and

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fraternal love, the union of design and submissive regard prevalent for the most part among Christians.<sup>1</sup>

However, Harlan found the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan too strongly entrenched, for the time being, to be dislodged, and he returned to India. Shah Shujah, in recognition of his efforts, gave him the titles of "King's Nearest Friend" and "Companion of the Imperial Stirrup." Harlan then entered the service of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, sovereign of the Punjab. During the ensuing seven years Harlan attained high favour at the Court of Lahore and became governor, successively, of the provinces of Jesraota, Noorpore and Guzerath, all small provinces. We do not know how much power Harlan possessed as governor, since in the Orient officials frequently have titles without the authority that normally would be included. He may have gone to the provinces in command of a dozen troops. In the East nothing is so uncertain as a pretentious title: it may mean much power, or none.

In May, 1834, the Sikh army occupied the town and citadel of Peshawar, at that time claimed by Afghanistan. The occupation precipitated war between the Amir of Kabul and the sovereign of the Punjab, and in the spring of 1835 the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan led an ambitious military array through the Khyber Pass. Not wholly prepared to give battle to the invaders, the shrewd Maharajah delegated Harlan to wait upon and bribe the Amir's disgruntled brother, Sultan Mohammed Khan.<sup>2</sup> The time was propitious: not long before the Amir had seized and married by force a beautiful princess upon whom the Sultan Mohammed Khan had turned a quickened and acquisitive eye. Indeed, when Dost Mohammed Khan seized the lady she was en route to join and marry the Sultan. Harlan's venture coming off agreeably, Ranjit dispatched Harlan and Fakir Aziz-ud-din to the Amir's camp. One morning Harlan and the Sultan Mohammed Khan called at the Amir's tent in the Khyber Pass, wrote Harlan,

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Harlan's journal, printed in *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), January 20th, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab* (London, 1842), III, 335-345.

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... later than ordinary, after the durbar had been dismissed, and the breakfast dispatched. Civility required that food should be placed before the Ameer's brother; comestibles of the *cuisine* had been removed, but preserves, and bread, and cheese were proffered, which Sooltaun Mahomed declined with acknowledgments of the hospitality. His attendants did the practical honours to the feast; but the day being exceedingly hot, and the Sirdar extremely thirsty from fatigue and exposure to the sun, was invited by the Ameer to take a drink of *Doug*.<sup>1</sup> The brother hesitatingly declined the proposed kindness; but the Ameer importuned him, and forthwith ordered a servant who was in waiting to produce the beverage. It was brought instantly, and as the subordinate approached with it, Sooltaun Mahomed motioned him to hand the bowl, containing the *Doug*, to the Ameer. The Ameer excused himself, saying, "I have breakfasted, *lalla*;<sup>2</sup> help yourself." Then commenced a scene of protestation and importunity which lasted several moments; at length Sooltaun Mohamed observed, "Impossible, brother; it's not possible for me to take it until you have first refreshed yourself," and so, notwithstanding His Highness was not at all thirsty, his brother, by the pretext of hospitality, assured himself of the salutary condition of the proffered bowl, by first obliging the host to drink, which he did freely, and then transferred it to his guest. I drank from the same bowl and of the identical contents with which the princes refreshed themselves, and add my testimony to what I have frequently heard expressed, that sour milk surpasses any other beverage to quench thirst in a sultry climate on a hot day.<sup>3</sup>

Seduced by Sikh gold, judiciously distributed, the Amir's army slowly melted away, while the two honourable envoys of the Maharajah were ostensibly negotiating with the Afghan sovereign.<sup>4</sup> During this coup the Sikh army quietly ranged itself in a semi-circle around the Afghan camp. Informed of the Sikh movements, Dost Mohammed Khan ordered an immediate retreat. He arrested the Sikh diplomatists, and not knowing of Sultan Mohammed Khan's treachery, entrusted the prisoners to the custody of that gentleman. The latter, wishing to ingratiate himself

<sup>1</sup> "This is sour milk not skimmed. It is fresh milk prepared by a premature process of souring, and then made into a homogeneous fluid by thorough shaking in a leather bag."—J.H.

<sup>2</sup> "Brother."—J.H.

<sup>3</sup> Harlan, *A Memoir of India and Avghanistaun* (Philadelphia, 1842), pp. 162-164.

<sup>4</sup> G. B. Malleon, *History of Afghanistan* (London, 1879), p. 358.





AMIR DOST MOHAMMED KHAN

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with Ranjit Singh, escorted Harlan and his colleague to safety and released them.<sup>1</sup>

Angered at some action of the Punjab monarch, Harlan left the Court of Lahore. Journeying to Kabul, he urged the mortal enemy of his former master to further hostilities. Becoming aide-de-camp to Dost Mohammed Khan and general of regular troops of the Afghan army, he instructed the troops in European military tactics.<sup>2</sup> So effectively did Harlan do his work, aided by an Englishman named Campbell,<sup>3</sup> that the Afghan troops, in command of a son of the Amir, Mohammed Akbar Khan, defeated the Sikh army and killed Hari Singh, Ranjit's renowned commander-in-chief, in the battle of Jamrud (April, 1837). Two thousand Sikhs and one thousand Afghans were destroyed. Wrote Harlan: "The proud King of Lahore quailed upon his threatened throne, as he exclaimed with terror and approaching despair, 'Harlan has avenged himself, this is all his work.'"<sup>4</sup> Harlan might well be proud of the result, since the Sikh army had been trained by French officers.

Of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan during this period, Harlan depicts a colourful and sharply revealing life sketch :

The Ameer is now forty-nine years of age and in vigorous health. When he stands erect his height is six feet, but there is a slight stoop in the neck arising from a rounded contour of the shoulders, characteristic of his family, which militates against the commanding appearance his person is otherwise formed to impress when animated by conversation or excited by passion. He has large features and a muscular frame; a heavy tread in his walk, placing the sole of his foot all at once flat upon the ground, which indicates that the instep is not well arched. The outline of his face is Roman. Having a curved jaw, a low retreating forehead, hair of the head shaven, and the turban worn far back, gives an appearance of elevation to the frontal region. . . . The nose is aquiline, high, and rather long, and finished with beautiful delicacy; the brow open, arched, and pencilled; the eyes are hazel-gray, not large, and of elephantine

<sup>1</sup> Mohan Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul* (London, 1846), I, 172-183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 240.

<sup>3</sup> Like Harlan, Campbell had formerly been in the service of Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk.

<sup>4</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), January 20th, 1842.



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expression ; the mouth large and vulgar and full of bad teeth ; the lips moderately thick ; ears large. The shape of the face is oval, rather broad across the cheeks, and the chin covered with a full, strong beard, originally black, now mixed with gray hairs. This appendage is dyed once a week, that is, on Thursday morning, in the process of general ablution in *hummaum* or warm bath. . . .

The Ameer's manners were those of an educated Asiatic, and the fact is most remarkable, that all this family possess the "*shirrum i huzzoor*" in an eminent degree ; that is, extreme modesty, approaching diffidence, which renders him incapable of denying a favour in the presence of an individual who prefers a suit with delicacy and tact ! In conversation he is boisterous and energetic, which are habits arising from the military life he has been accustomed to ; extremely susceptible to flattery, beyond measure vain, and fond of pleasantry. He is inattentive to forms, but jealous of all the respect that the strictest etiquette could demand. He is a monster of rapacity ; this quality is a natural vice with him ; his eyes had a feline glare when he looked full in the face of any one, and they assumed an awakened stare of attention when the accumulation of gold was the subject of his thoughts. As a politician he knew well the character of every class of the population, having himself had practical experience of the whole range of human society, in all the forms which the social bodies of that country present themselves to observation. He was accustomed to employ policy in ordinary intercourse with society, although the most revolting cruelty was recklessly practised on all occasions of exacting money. He is extremely vain of his talents as a speaker, and will sometimes declaim at great length, and with a good deal of eloquence, on trivial subjects. In these pretensions he was indulged by his flatterers, who listened with attention, and assented to his arguments with frequent exclamations of admiration. He is loud and vociferous on most occasions, as he seems to be always excited. When menaced by events of a grave, solemn, and important character, he becomes dignified, quiet, submissive, and, if the affair take a hopeless turn, he timidly and readily listens to the advice of any one, not even excepting his personal domestics ; and they are ever ready to display their influence. . . . When the Ameer gave way to a desponding tone of mind, which was frequently the case, his perfidious principles caused him to mistrust everybody, and he is without a friend. On great emergencies he becomes fearful and apprehensive, and sometimes loses his presence of mind. . . .

The Ameer in early life, and until the age of thirty, was addicted to drunkenness. During his fits of intoxication, many ruthless acts of indiscriminate barbarity were the result of these depraved hallucinations. Surrounded by a crowd of

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drunken revellers, maddened by the maniac draught of the frantic bowl, friend and colleague, master, man, and slave, all indiscriminate and promiscuous actors in the wild, voluptuous, licentious scene of shameless bacchanals, they caroused and drank with prostitutes, and singers, and fiddlers, day and night, in one long, interminable cycle—the libertine's eternity of sensual excitement and continuous debauchery; and this tenor of life was encouraged by his retainers, who admired in his heedless vices the unrestrained license of feudal supremacy. . . .

The acquisition of sovereignty presented the Prince in the character of a sincere reformer, in which effort of morals he was imitated by his court with truth and unmeasured pertinacity. In youth he was bold from necessity, but probably the experience of years, and the voluptuous excesses of luxurious leisure, in taking off the wiry edge from the sword of his ambition, dulled the instrument, and depraved its temper. I believe he is naturally timid, and I am unable to instance an example of His Highness ever having boldly risked his person in an individual conflict. At the battle of Kandahar he and Shujah simultaneously ran away from each other. Dost Mahomed was the first to hear of his antagonist's flight. When satisfied that the field was entirely clear of the enemy, he rallied with becoming fierceness. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This cautious valour, which is characteristic of the Ameer, it is said by his followers has become more conspicuous since his reformation of dissolute habits removed the cloud of intemperate exuberance which envelopes the psychological phenomena of the military mind; or perhaps the sagacity of his judges has become more astute and captious by a system of abstinence. . . . Nevertheless, his perfect knowledge of the people over whom he was called to rule, and his unprincipled readiness at despotic sway, made him remarkably well adapted to govern the worse than savage tribes he had to command, especially when sustained by the powerful influence of the prætorian or janissary tribe of Kizzlebashe. He is no believer in human principle, but a self-convicted and unchanging doubter of every motive but self-interest, and is ever on the alert to seize by craftiness the object which any one possessing power would attempt by the direct exertion of optional authority. He is liable to frequent despondency, but is too politic to display this infirmity of feeling to common observation. It is only during a period of relaxation that he has been known to give way to the depression of mind. He is an exquisite dissembler so long as his affairs are subservient to his will; but the equanimity of his mind is liable to be deranged by untoward events, and on some

<sup>1</sup> Here Harlan refers to an abortive attempt by Shah Shujah to regain the throne of Kabul in 1834.

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occasions he has been known to shed unavailing tears of hopelessness, and fly for advice and consolation to the presence of his favourite wife, Khadija. To this lady he is superstitiously attached, and probably he has been indebted to her circumspection and humanity for all the greatness he has attained.

.....<sup>1</sup>

This was the monarch whom Harlan served, in whose favour he continued, in itself no mean achievement. In September, 1838, the Amir of Kabul ordered "a belligerent expedition" against Mir Murad Beg, Prince of Kundooz. Akram Khan, a young son of the Amir, about eighteen years of age, was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition. Harlan commanded the regular troops and the young commander was placed under his tutelage. The punitive expedition, consisting of 1,400 cavalry, 1,100 effective infantry, 2,000 horses and 400 camels, crossed the Hindu Kush Mountains and followed the route of Alexander the Great to the Province of Balkh, the Bactria of ancient times. The operation furnished a practical test of the military topography and resources of the country and overcame impediments long supposed to present "insurmountable obstacles" to the passage of a modern army. Declared Harlan: "... the practicability of invading India from the north, no longer doubtful, has become a feasible and demonstrable operation."<sup>2</sup> Of this difficult march, General Harlan has provided us with an excellent description:

I surmounted the Indian Caucasus,<sup>3</sup> and there upon the mountain heights, unfurled my country's banner to the breeze, under a salute of twenty-six guns. On the highest pass of the frosty Caucasus, that of Kharzar, 12,500 feet above the sea, the star spangled banner gracefully waved amidst the icy peaks and soilless rugged rocks of a sterile region,<sup>4</sup> seemingly sacred to the solitude of an undisturbed eternity. We ascended passes through regions where glaciers and silent dells, and frowning rocks blackened by ages of weather beaten fame, preserved the

<sup>1</sup> Harlan, *A Memoir of India and Avghanistaun* (Philadelphia, 1842), pp. 126-134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient term for the Hindu Kush Mountains.

<sup>4</sup> The Afghans of that day would place no significance upon the flag, undoubtedly viewing it as a personal emblem of the General.

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quiet domain of remotest time shrouded in perennial snow. We struggled on amidst the heights of those Alpine ranges, until now, supposed inaccessible to the labour of man, Infantry and Cavalry, Artillery, Camp followers, and beasts of burden surmounting difficulties by obdurate endurance, defying the pitiless pelting of the snow or rain as these phenomena alternately and capriciously coquetted with our ever changing climate—we pressed onward, scaling those stony girdles of the earth, dim shades, as children of the mists far above the nether world, toiling amidst the clouds like restless spirits of another sphere, thus accomplishing the passage over a mountain district, 300 miles in extent from Cabul to Bulkh.<sup>1</sup>

The punishment of the recalcitrant Prince of Kundooz attended to, the expedition returned to Kabul in the spring of 1839. It was fully time, for the Government of India had decided to make war upon Dost Mohammed Khan. Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, was determined to restore Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk to the throne of Kabul, in the belief that England's interests required the elimination of a monarch supposed to be controlled by the Russian Tsar. Confronted with British armies, the despairing Amir, according to our adventurer, appointed Harlan military commander-in-chief. It was an impossible charge: too many Afghans were ready to accept Shah Shujah as monarch. The extent of the disaffection is sharply depicted by Harlan in an account of the Amir's flight:

A trusty servant of Khan Shireen Khan the hereditary feudal Lord, who commanded the mercenary Royal Guard of Kizzilbash or Persian Mercenaries Cavalry, appeared. "Saheb," said the messenger entering the presence, "the Khan sends me to your Highness with this advice. Still are you here? Quick, arise, for my followers have betrayed a mutinous spirit, another moment's delay may be fatal to your chance of escape. I can no longer be responsible for your personal safety."

The Prince, more wounded by the threatening language of a feudatory than scathed by the fearful prospect of utter ruin, mildly, though with a countenance full of ire, called for his attendant, whose duty the stated period of prayer should have brought into his presence. But a fallen prince has not even a faithful slave: a stranger handed the vessel for His Highness'

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Harlan's journal, printed in *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), January 20th, 1842.

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ablution, and he mournfully performed, for the last time within his tent, the ceremonials of his religion. His prayers finished, he commenced putting on his turban—his horse ready caparisoned at the tent door. He called for the keeper of the powder magazine—he presented himself with an inventory of his charge. The Prince silently glanced at its contents, and sighing deeply—"Go," said he to Mahomed Uzfelt (his son), "he has my orders."

A crowd of noisy, disorganised troops, insolently pressed close up to the royal pavilion—the guards had disappeared—the groom holding the Prince's horse was unceremoniously pushed to and fro—a servant audaciously pulled away the pillows which sustained the Prince's arm—another commenced cutting a piece of the splendid Persian carpet—the beautiful praying rug of the Prince was seized on by a third.

"Hold," said His Highness, "will ye not give me time to tie on my head-dress?"

A dark scowl of desperation met his eye from those who were wont to fawn upon his kindness and flatter the once potent chief. Truly, as the dark gathering of murky clouds forbade the storm that followed—the frowning visages of audacious disrespect no longer dimly obscured the motives of cupidity. As the Prince sallied from his tent—"Take all," said he, addressing Golam Mahomed, "that you find within, together with the tent." In an instant, the unruly crowd rushed upon the pavilion—swords gleamed in the air, and descended upon the tent—the canvass, the ropes, the carpets, pillows, screens, etc., were seized and dispensed among the plunderers.

The Prince placed his foot in the stirrup, as his loaded mules passed in a line, bearing the furniture of his *cuisine*. Quick glances were interchanged betwixt the followers of Khan Shirreen and Mahmoud Khan, formerly the nearest friends to a prosperous prince, but now the rifest enemies of a fallen friend. These monitory signals escaped not the penetrating glance of Dost Mahomed. Suddenly he sprang into the saddle. As the turbulent host pressed upon the fugitive Prince, and whilst they were engaged in strife with each other for a division of the spoil of his kitchen furniture in the mules' burthen, now thrown off, the first report of an explosion concentrated the interrupted attention of the disorganized army, which was soon divided into immense swarms and hordes—each suspiciously regarding the other with enquiring looks. Another and another explosion followed: the magazine had been fired. Not a breath of air disturbed the clear atmosphere—a dense cloud of white smoke ascended by jets far into the upper space, in a circumscribed pillar, as each concussion of ignited powder drove up a herald to announce in other worlds the crash of Empires on the earth beneath. An immense column rose into the still, clear air, like a genius conjured up by the magic of war.

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The Prince turned his horse toward that dense cloud, which seemed like a shadow, enshrining his glory—plunged into the screening veil that obscured his fallen fortunes, and protected him from pursuit, as he lost himself from the view of those who wishfully contemplated an act of treachery in the seizure of His Highness' person.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of British operations in the First Afghan War, Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk was restored to the throne of Kabul in August, 1839. This left Harlan without employment and he turned leisurely homeward. Reaching Philadelphia in August, 1841,<sup>2</sup> he wrote and published a book entitled *A Memoir of India and Avghanistaun, with Observations on the Present Exciting and Critical State and Future Prospects of Those Countries ; Comprising Remarks on the Massacre of the British Army in Cabul, British Policy in India, A Detailed Descriptive Character of Dost Mahomed and his Court, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1842). Harlan designed the *Memoir* as a preliminary to the narrative itself, which was intended to be more of a personal narrative. As a matter of fact the latter is a personal narrative only in the sense that it delineates what Harlan observed rather than what he did. The pages of both books, filled with concrete detail and shrewd comment, reflect the mind of a sharp and discerning observer.

Somewhat to the General's surprise, he found himself poorer than he anticipated: during his years in Asia he had acquired some wealth, a goodly portion of which he had sent back to Philadelphia to be invested for him by his brother, Doctor Richard Harlan. Brother Richard, as it happened, invested unwisely. However, with what funds he had left, the General purchased land near Cochranville, in Chester County, Pennsylvania. There he sought to establish a great manorial estate, with a manor house, tenant houses and a mill. For the mill he built an Archimedes screw, a device for using the same water repeatedly by raising it with spirals. People came long distances to see this ancient device in operation. In the end the General

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> *National Gazette* (Philadelphia), August 25th, 1841.

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found that he was as poor a financier as Doctor Richard Harlan, and sometime in the 1850's he was sold out at a sheriff's sale.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of his life as a country gentleman, Harlan found time to take a wife. On May 1st, 1849, he was married, in West Chester, to Elizabeth Baker, by whom he had a daughter, Sarah Victoria Harlan. Somewhat to the disgust of the Baker relatives, the General, as he was leaving after the ceremony, said to his bride: "Well, how does it feel to be Mrs. General Harlan?" We are not informed as to the lady's reply. According to present-day members of the Harlan family the General did not fare so well among the Pennsylvania Quakers: they thought him domineering and haughty. Certainly during his long years in the East the General became efficiently adept in the dark arts of Oriental diplomacy, intrigue and warfare; as practised in Asia these abilities made the General a stranger among his own people.

In the 1850's many people became interested in the possibilities of importing camels for use as beasts of burden for the United States Army in the American deserts. General Harlan supplied the government with a great deal of material on camels, drawn from his experiences and observations in Central Asia, upon which D. J. Browne based an article on the "Importation of Camels," published in 1854 by the United States Senate as *United States Senate Executive Document No. 27, Part II*, 33 Congress, 1 Session, pp. 61-68. Browne's article was referred to by George Perkins Marsh as "a valuable paper"<sup>2</sup> and Harlan was of some influence in bringing about the importation of camels in 1856 for military purposes. Under the energetic direction of Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War in the administration of President Franklin Pierce, a number of camels were imported

<sup>1</sup> Information from Miss Ethel Sauer and from Mr. Harry Wilson, of West Chester, Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Marsh, *The Camel, His Organization, Habits and Uses, Considered with reference to his Introduction into the United States* (1856), pp. 35-36, 50, 67-68, 105; same author, "The Camel," in *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1854, published as *U.S. Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 24*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 103, 106, 120.

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from Northern Africa and Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> A private corporation called the American Camel Company was also chartered by an act of the New York legislature, April 15th, 1854, "for the purpose of importing camels from Asia and Africa into the United States, so as to make that animal applicable to the purpose of burden, transportation and fabrics."<sup>2</sup> Camels were used commercially for a time in the western mining camps.<sup>3</sup> However, the American horses and mules firmly declined to recognize the camels as colleagues and insisted upon running away upon each encounter with the odoriferous and ungainly foreigners. In the end the government disposed of their camels at auction sales, during and after the Civil War. Many camels branded U.S. appeared in American circuses for decades afterwards. Others were turned loose in the deserts of the American South-West, where they wandered, multiplied, and gave rise to many an incredulous tale.

For some time prior to the Civil War, Harlan seems to have been connected with the Norris Iron Works, of Norristown, Pennsylvania.<sup>4</sup> In 1861 he raised the regiment popularly known as Harlan's Light Cavalry. As colonel of this regiment he served in the Army of the Potomac from October 5th, 1861, to August 20th, 1862, when ill-health forced his retirement.<sup>5</sup> During the next few years he apparently lived quietly in Philadelphia, where he was listed in directories as "Harlan, Josiah, gentleman."<sup>6</sup>

While still in the army he found time to write an article for the United States Government, "On the Fruits of

<sup>1</sup> "Report of the Secretary of War Communicating. . . Information respecting the Purchase of Camels for the Purposes of Military Transportation," *U.S. Senate Executive Document No. 62*, 34 Congress, 3 Session; Charles C. Carroll, "The Government's Importation of Camels: A Historical Sketch," *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1903*, published as *U.S. House Document No. 743*, 58 Congress, 2 Session, pp. 391-409; L. B. Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels* (1929); Chris Emmett, *Texas Camel Tales* (San Antonio, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> *Laws of the State of New York*, 1854, Chapter 229, pp. 514-516.

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Lewis, "The Camel Pack Trains in the Mining Camps of the West," in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, October, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1861* (1861), p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry* (1902).

<sup>6</sup> *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory*, 1864-1866.



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Cabul and Vicinity, With a View to the Introduction of the Grape-Vine of that Region into the Central Climate of the United States," which was published (1862) in *United States Senate Executive Document No. 39, 37 Congress, 2 Session*, pp. 526-537. In this article he urged, as he had for several years, the importation by the United States Government of the fruits of Afghanistan for cultivation in the New World. He estimated the probable cost of sending an expedition to Central Asia at 10,000 dollars. That he had himself in mind to head the proposed mission is revealed in the following passage of the article :

. . . great personal danger must be risked by Christians travelling or attempting to travel in Afghanistan. Since the destruction of the British army which essayed the conquest of their country, the jealousy of the natives has been greatly increased, and the difficulties and dangers, at all times serious and almost insurmountable, can only be avoided by the direct authority and protection of the prince, exercised through the chiefs and rulers of the villages and districts under his control. This influence becomes available to a traveller intermediately, who may have the means of friendly intercourse with some influential person of a tribe between whom and himself the rites of hospitality may exist. My long residence in the country and familiar social intercourse with the ruling family are incidents which secure to me uninterrupted friendly relations ; and in the event of adventitious difficulties, my familiar knowledge of their language and of their manner and customs would favor the security of a successful disguise.<sup>1</sup>

At the time Harlan wrote Shah Shujah had died and the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan again ruled in Kabul. As a consequence, Harlan was quite correct in urging himself as well qualified to head the proposed expedition. In defence of the scheme he compared the importation of camels with the proposed introduction of Central Asiatic fruits :

. . . Is not the naturalization of a wine grape of vastly more importance than the naturalization of a beast of burden, not absolutely *necessary* for our population ? I by no means intend to depreciate the experimental venture of importing the camel. By the comparison, I wish to exalt the other enterprise.

<sup>1</sup> *U.S. Senate Executive Document No. 39, 37 Congress, 2 Session*, p. 536.

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Untold treasures would be as chaff if weighed against the moral, commercial, and natural benefits to be derived from the acclimation of a wine grape in these United States! . . . <sup>1</sup>

However, the country's funds were needed to continue the war and Congress took no action upon the proposal. A few years after the close of civil strife, Harlan migrated to California, where he appears to have practised as a physician in San Francisco.<sup>2</sup> Probably this was made possible by the lack of regulations in the California of that day. He died in San Francisco in October, 1871, and was buried there.<sup>3</sup> His widow returned to Pennsylvania to reside in Chester County, where she died in 1884.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 537.

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* for 1871.

<sup>3</sup> Obituaries of Harlan were printed in *The Press* (Philadelphia), November 4th, 1871, and in the *Sunday Dispatch* (Philadelphia), November 12th, 1871.

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CENTRAL ASIA: PERSONAL NARRATIVE  
OF GENERAL JOSIAH HARLAN, 1823-1841

PART I

ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE  
INHABITANTS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON THE  
PROVINCE OF BULKH: THE BACTRIA OF QUINTUS  
CURTIUS

THE tract of country bounded on the north by the river Oxus,<sup>1</sup> on the south by the Hazarrahjaut'h and Hindoo Kush Mountains, on the west by the desert of Khwarizm, and the east by Buddukh Shaun, comprises the modern Province of Bulkh. The extent of this province is about two hundred and fifty miles from east to west and one hundred and twenty from north to south. The southern part of the country, connected with the Hazarrahjaut'h and Hindoo Kush, is hilly and mountainous, the latter character prevailing as the interior is approached in that direction, the boundaries of which are the mountains of Bulk ab,<sup>2</sup> the Karra Kotul and Hindoo Kush. The highest of these mountains are bare of soil. Ravines and dells yielding vegetation when irrigated afford the cereal grains. Under the influence of the rains they are clothed in verdure sufficient for the subsistence of the flocks and herds that contribute the chief wealth of the population. Descending towards the plain from the extreme southern boundary there are many watered, productive and cultivated valleys and hills of disintegrated rocks covered with natural grass. The plain is watered by several rivers descending from higher altitudes. Of these the principal are: the Bulkh ab, the Heibuck and the Ghoree.

<sup>1</sup> The Oxus is now known as the Amu Darya.

<sup>2</sup> *Ab* is a Persian word meaning water. In usage it has come to mean river.

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The Bulkh ab, which is also called the "Ard i Seah," rises in the Paropamisus, nearly south of the city of Bulkh. Its head waters are collected in the lake called "Bund i Ameer" in the district of Dye Zungee. The Hazarrahs say that the flow of three hundred and sixty upland valleys is drained into and contributed to the lake. There is an immense dam in the vicinity of Dye Zungee, which is said to be of artificial construction, whose origin is attributed to a miraculous agency, in a position to intercept the drainage of the country, the water of which, previous to its egress from the mountains, is concentrated into this mountain lake. The river flowing out of the lake is joined in its source, near Boonee Karra, by the river of Derrah i Esoff, which rises near to the fortress of the same name. It is a large branch nearly equal in size at the point of junction to the Bulkh ab. It is increased in its course by several smaller streams flowing from many lateral dells, which penetrate in tortuous directions amongst the hills through the maze of mountains. After receiving its tributaries the Bulkh ab passes, near to and north of Boonee Karra, with a quick current. Here it is about eighty or one hundred yards broad and several feet in depth. It disembogues through the gorge of Derrah i Guz upon the southern skirt of the plain of the Oxus. At no distant period the river was disbursed for the irrigation of the country by eighteen canals. These aqueducts are now, for the most part, in a ruined condition, and the surplus water collects in marshes near and about the city of Bulkh. These marshes are a bad feature in the medical topography of that important military position.

The river Heibuck rises in the mountains near Doab, at the base of the Karra Kotul. It passes through Doab, Rooley, Khoorum, Heibuck and Tash Khoorhaun. Here it enters the plain and is absorbed by the soil of numerous gardens, which add to the comfort of the people and ornament the city. The river Ghoree has its source near Bameean, and after a long and frequently inflected course, flows into the Oxus near Kundooz. It is accounted a branch of that noble river. The north of the province, near the

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Oxus, is sandy and barren, except in the vicinity of villages. These form fertile oases in the desert sands, lying along the banks of the streams and extending also a considerable distance from it.

The eighteen canals of Bulkh in the palmy days of that province produced eighteen *lakhs*<sup>1</sup> of rupees as revenue. Since the days of Killick Ali Beg the country has fallen into a ruinous condition. The revenue now paid in kind to the governor, who receives it on account of the Ameer of Bocharrah, will not amount to two *lakhs*. The province is divided into several districts, the chiefs of which assumed an independent attitude after the decline of the Cabul monarchy. This condition of the several petty principalities must be dated from the period of Shoojah-ool-Moolk's exile from the seat of his ancestors by Mahomed Azem Khan, the oldest son and immediate successor of Vizeer Futtu Khan Barakzye.<sup>2</sup>

Upon the English invasion of Cabul in 1839 Dost Mahomed, Ameer of Cabul, fled into Tataria and claimed the hospitality of the chiefs of Bulkh and the Khan of Bocharrah. This last named prince bestowed the city of Bulkh and its revenues upon the fugitive Ameer, and when His Highness regained possession of Cabul, the city of Bulkh remained attached to Dost Mahomed's dependencies. Previous to this arrangement with the Ameer of Cabul all the petty chiefs of the province capable of sustaining a precarious and partially independent position remained in possession of their estates, and at that time consisted of six provinces, with separate interests, nominally subject to but seldom controlled by a paramount influence.

First, Meimunna. Independent of Bulkh. Nominally attached to Herat. Second, Anakho, Shibberghaun and Bulkh city, held by the Ameer of Bocharrah at the period of which I write (1839). Third, Mozar—granted by the former rulers to the ancestors of the present occupant, Shoojah ul Deen Khan, in hereditary fee as Mutawullee<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A *lakh* is equal to 100,000 rupees.

<sup>2</sup> The wars resulting in Shah Shujah's downfall began in 1809. By 1811 the Shah was definitely in exile.

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiastical chief.—J.H.

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of the Tomb of Ali. Fourth, Sir i Pool. In possession of Zulficar Share. Fifth, Khoolum, Derrah i Guz, Derrah i Esoff, being a part of Kipchack, and Boonee Karra, held by Meer i Wullee, Mooeytun, son of Killick Ali Beg, whose possessions included Heibuck, now descended to his son Baba Beg, and Khoorum, held by another son named Soofey Beg. Sixth, Kundooz. The principality of Murad, Wullee i Darra Bee, Kudaghaun, Prince of Kundooz. His possessions are: Kundooz, Huzuret Imaum, Khost, Talikaun, Underab, Hissar, Derwauz, and Karra Tegin; also Ghoree and Buddukh Shaun. This last was a separate principality until lately, but it is now annexed to Kundooz. Since the ascendancy of Muraad Beg the population of Meimunna has increased by the immigration of inhabitants from Bulkh city and municipal district, driven into exile by the frequent hostile visits of the Kundooz chief. This robber annually carries off men, women and children, cattle and produce from that partially protected district. Meimunna, although more distant from Herat than from Bulkh, acknowledges the authority of and claims protection from Kamran Mirza, prince of that country.

Bulkh is called the Mother of Cities, in allusion to traditions which assert its antiquity beyond all other cities of the world! The city is also called the *Naffi Zemeen* or Navel of the Earth! A tomb of large dimensions is shown near the city as the resting place of Seth, called by the people the son of Adam. Tradition states that Bulkh was founded by Cabul and Abul, their cognomens for Cain and Abel, who were, they say, the brethren of Seth. The . . . ruins of the ancient metropolis still cover a great extent of ground. One corner of this area is occupied by a small bazaar, a few dwelling-houses, two karrovan serrais, and a *Medrissa* or college unendowed, which is now used as a *Mehman Khaneh*.<sup>1</sup> Near the town on the north side the fort called Balla Hissar is situated. It consists of a terrace defended by a thin mud wall in the form of a parallelogram. It is four hundred yards long and two hundred broad by estimation. A ditch filled with water surrounds the place.

<sup>1</sup> Public guest house.

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The ground beyond the ditch is marshy on three sides. The garrison consists of a few Uzbecks from Bocharrah; there are also some dilapidated tenements in the fort occupied by a small number of citizens. There is a considerable reservoir of water in the area. The inhabitants of the town, citadel and surrounding country are liable to attack of intermittent fever. This malady makes sad havoc in the constitutions of unacclimated persons who visit the country as temporary denizens from the south. The vicinity of the city is flat, low and fertile. The depredations of Muraad Beg have nearly depopulated the district. The local chiefs are willing to see it reduced to insignificance as an appanage of the Khanate of Bocharrah, of whose power they are extremely jealous. A few years since the Prince of Kundooz erected a fort near the city of which he has frequently had temporary possession. The Ameer of Bocharrah sent a force to dislodge the intruder, in effecting which measure he met no opposition in the field. Muraad retreated to Kundooz, leaving his garrison to his enemy's mercy and the fort was razed without resistance. Since this adventure Muraad has returned to his predatory policy in place of attempting a permanent acquisition of the city.

The possessor of the city of Bulkh has been allowed by the Uzbecks a traditional right to assume the title of Paramount Lord of the Uzbek States. The possession of the city, which has the historical prestige of a capital and the first built city in the world, confers the nominal title to empire and if the pretensions of an adventurer be sustained by force his right to assert his claims could not be impugned without violating justice and traditional privilege. Since the decline of the Cabul monarchy, on the expulsion of the Suddoozye dynasty, this province, which formerly submitted to the sway of the Avghaun kings, has become divided into a number of principalities, ruled by independent chiefs. The city of Bulkh was seized by the Ameer of Bocharrah and in virtue of this possession he is acknowledged lord paramount, in conformity with historical usage, by all the chiefs ruling in the plain of the Oxus. The possessor cannot



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levy revenue or collect taxes from these chiefs without a forcible demonstration. If this measure should be attempted it would be resisted by a temporary combination of the several chiefs, and except upon occasion of foreign invasion, the paramount would not be resorted to ! Muraad Beg, Prince of Kundooz and its dependencies, aspiring to supremacy in the plain of the Oxus, has set up separate pretensions from the Ameer of Bocharrah. But the contemporary chiefs maintain a control of the balance of power and neutralize his ambitious projects by threats of calling the Khan of Bocharrah to their aid. Thus they curb his efforts of aggrandizement and make common cause against his predatory designs. Neither are they disposed to destroy Muraad, but use him as a safeguard against the possible inimical designs of the Khan of Bocharrah. This nominal paramount they view and repel as a despotic monarch who would recklessly dispose of their lives and fortunes, whilst Muraad, considered more troublesome than dangerous, is regarded as an insubordinate member of their own brotherhood, who, whatever may be the aim of his own ambition, could not effect more than a temporary ascendancy in the direction of their councils and control of their local differences.

The west part of this province is covered with a thick jungle of high grass, a natural product of the soil. On the east and south the country is fertile but hilly. The governor of the city of Bulkh is appointed by the Ameer of Bocharrah. He is charged with the protection of this frontier, which is one of the most important positions in the Khanate of Bocharrah. Muraad Beg had more influence in the politics of the province at the period of my visit than any other chief, in the proportion of his military force. But a moral power existed in the influence of the Mutawullee of Mozar, whose sacred character was available to concentrate at all times a military force by combination amongst his disciples sufficiently potent for the maintenance of a firm opposition. Muraad is the undisguised antagonist of the Ameer and had plundered with impunity this poorly defended outpost of his enemy. The imbecility and unwar-

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like character of the Ameer are guarantees of immunity of his opponents. The city is a strategical point of vital importance to any power operating against Toorkistaun or British India and will, while in the hands of the Uzbecks, ever be accessible to an enemy of sufficient force to justify an invasion of those countries. The city and its dependencies provide one thousand cavalry for the defence of the Boccharah frontier on that side of the Khanate. The possessor of Bulkh has the right of coinage, and other royal privileges, as reading the *Khutabak*,<sup>1</sup> etc.

In the field the military force of the Uzbecks is composed of cavalry. Their mountain fortresses are garrisoned and defended by infantry composed in a great measure, at least on the southern frontier, of natives of Buddukh Shaun. In the province of Bulkh a body of five thousand men may be raised from a class termed *Koneh Nokur*. These are descendants of the Avghaun military colony planted there by the kings of Cabul. They are not allowed to bear arms, and are considered ineligible to posts of trust by the Uzbek chiefs. They may be embodied at a short notice and would make an efficient force as garrison soldiers; they are foreigners and not attached to the interests and feelings of the people they reside amongst. The *Koneh Nokur* still possess much of the characteristic bravery and hardihood of the stock from which they derive their origin, although the third generation is now, 1838, in existence since their ancestors were removed by Ahmed Shah from their native country. They are dispersed over the province, the largest number residing near the city of Bulkh and Mozar.

The necessities of life are more abundant and cheaper in the vicinity of the city of Bulkh and Mozar than in any other part of the province. This district is more fertile and has the advantage of a profuse supply of water for irrigation. It is also famous for a fine breed of horses, and large sheep. The former are raised chiefly at Anakho. They are kept in large droves, living much in a state of nature, subsisting on the spontaneous grasses of the plain. In the plain of the

<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of one's name as sovereign in the noon-day prayers on Friday in the mosque.

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Oxus all animals attain to a larger size than elsewhere in this part of Asia. The horses are more powerful than those bred in neighboring countries. The sheep are numerous and superior in size to any others found in Central Asia. The natives of the country also are athletic, robust and ruddy. The abundant supply of proper food for the nourishment of animal life is doubtless the cause of this superiority in the development of their physical capabilities, in which every creature seems to participate.

Mozar is seven *coss*<sup>1</sup> east of the capital city. It is supplied with water from one of the canals before alluded to and is equally fertile and well cultivated as the adjoining district. Its chief, Shoojah ul Deen Khan, is one of the class of *ulima*<sup>2</sup> and his ancestors held the place in hereditary grant from a former Ameer of Bocharrah. He is styled the "Mutawullee" of the tomb of Ali. A sanctified exaltation is attached to his character from this connection with a sacred place. Mozar is a celebrated resort of Mahomedan pilgrims of every sect, although it is a shrine of peculiar holiness in the eyes of *Sheahs*; this is the sect which constitutes the national schism of Persia. There is here a memorial of the founder of that sect, in the cenotaph of Ali, the son-in-law of their Prophet Mahomed and also his cousin. Shoojah ul Deen, or u'Deen as the name is pronounced, commands a weighty influence in the councils of the local chiefs. He is a man of grave address and dignified deportment, but his character is full of duplicity and political tergiversation. He is addicted to literary pursuits and said to be a good poet. He covets the reputation of a mediator and is frequently referred to for the settlement of feuds, in which occupation much of his time is passed. He is suspected of being in secret correspondence with the Bocharrah prince, and no doubt justly suspected. His policy would be to temporize with any power superior to

<sup>1</sup> Mozar or Mazar i Sharif is 9 miles east of the city of Bulk, hence Harlan's definition of the *coss* would be something less than one and one third English miles. Definitions of the *coss*, which is an Indian term not commonly used in Afghanistan, vary from 1.14 to 2 miles, according to local usage.

<sup>2</sup> The Moolahs—J. H.

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and likely to conflict with his interest, but no political attachments are sufficiently strong to bias his judgment in the crafty pursuit of individual advantage. His best friends would be relentlessly sacrificed to the prospect of immediate benefit. He has been known to foment disputes, quarrels, and intrigues amongst his neighbors, for the purpose of extending his power. He is an unprincipled politician and unworthy of confidence. The death of the English merchant traveller and his companions at Mozar, and the subsequent plunder of their effects, has been attributed indirectly to Shoojah u'Deen. At the suggestion of avarice and cupidity he has been suspected of furtively circumventing the destruction of those travellers by the process of slow poison. This result might, however, have followed upon the sickness and debility and despondency which these travellers suffered more than from the Muawullee's active agencies.<sup>1</sup> He is, however, a bad man of mysterious motives and of hidden resolves, of cruel, cold and heartless principles, but not reckless of a fair name. Next to Muraad Beg he is the wealthiest chief in the province. In his lay character as Khan of Mozar he musters nine hundred cavalry.

Zulficar Share is the chief of Sir i Pool. The power and political importance of this individual is much circumscribed by the family dissensions of his insubordinate brothers. Muraad Beg sustains these refractory pretenders, by which policy he holds the chief in check and neutralizes his means of aggression. Zulficar Share is a brave soldier and faithful to his engagements. His military force amounts to seven hundred horse.

Meer i Wullee,<sup>2</sup> Mahomed Ameen Beg, Mooeytun, Prince of Khoolum, was the favorite son of the late Killick Ali Beg. The chief resides at Tash Khoorhaun,<sup>3</sup> the present capital of his principality. The town is twenty *coss* east by south of Mozar. The face of the country in its

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the expedition of William Moorcroft; the latter died in August, 1825. For further details see the sketch of Moorcroft in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "Master of the Inheritance."—J.H.

<sup>3</sup> Tash Khoorhaun, in the Toorky dialect, means "Walled City."—J.H.

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vicinity is broken by low hills, ravines and undulations. The mountains on the south gradually bend round toward the north, forming a circular base to whose direction the hills conform. The citadel of Tash Khoorghaun crowns a height south of the town within a spacious enclosure surrounded by a strong wall. It is supplied with water by the river Heibuck, which flows under the citadel placed at one end of the enclosure. The wall surrounding the citadel is by no means impregnable to an attack by artillery. Moreover it could be readily escalated. The country between Tash Khoorghaun and Mozar, except in the vicinity of those towns, is sandy and sterile. A neck of elevated land stretches from south to north, some distance into the plain, about midway of the distance, and forms the pass of Abdoo. This pass affords facilities of ambuscade and highway robberies are frequently perpetrated there upon karrovans. Thirteen *coss* from Mozar the ruins of Khoost Robat are situated. It was formerly a rich and fertile appurtenance of Khoolum but has become involved in the fatality that follows the track of Muraad and presents only the outlines of a ruined village. It was formerly irrigated from the Heibuck river, which now runs to waste and is absorbed upon the desert sands. The pass of Abdoo is two *coss* east from Khoost Robat.

The principality of Meer i Wullee may sustain ten thousand horse through the year without affecting the price of grain, or any necessities of life procurable usually in its bazaars. Grain, forage, wood, flesh and vegetables and fruits are abundant: the position is healthy, although subject to great heat. Meer i Wullee came to the possession of Khoolum upon the decease of his father, Killick Ali Beg. His right of succession was contested by his older half brother, Baba Beg. A demand was also made upon the patrimonial estate by all the younger brethren. These found in Muraad Beg, their father's enemy, a firm supporter. This princely robber, instigated by ambition of paramount power, achieves his purposes by fomenting family feuds amongst his opponents and successfully carried out the maximum *divide et impera* in the affairs of Khoolum, as he

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has already done on many other similar occasions ! In conformity with their customs these domestic feuds were referred for adjustment to a council of neighboring chiefs. The active participators in this council were Muraad Beg and Shoojah u'Deen Khan ! The policy of Muraad prevailed ; the judicious precautions of Meer i Wullee were overruled by the influence of his wily adversary, already his superior in military resources. The enemies of Meer i Wullee were set in opposition for the purpose of sustaining his brothers' claims to a portion of the hereditary estates, for he had been selected as the heir of his father, to the detriment of equal rights existing in the fraternal claims of several half brothers. The Mahomedan law of inheritance allows equal claims to all male children of the first four married wives if the parent dies intestate. But the parent is at liberty to select his heir from any of his descendants or if he so chooses he may bequeath his property and position to a stranger. This is the law of the traditions founded on the Koran. In India there exists a modification of this law of succession to property. There the property of a descendant falls to the Emperor ; but a rule prevails, which is seldom violated, that the legal hereditary claimant shall be reinstated in possession on payment of a *douceur* or bonus.

At the instance of the Khan of Mozar a compromise was made, although the policy of Muraad would have destroyed the political power of the Wullee. He was left in possession of the city of Khoolum and a small tract of country in its vicinity. Heibuck formed the retreat of Baba Beg. The fortress of Derrah i Esoff, with its territorial possessions, was apportioned as the residence and for the subsistence of Soofey Beg, a junior half brother of Meer i Wullee but full brother of Baba Beg, who was the senior of Killick Ali's descendants. The remaining possessions of Killick Ali were disposed of by Muraad in *jaghire*, or knight's tenure, to his confidential followers. The chief territories of the Mooeytun tribe Muraad annexed to his hereditary estates. Killick Ali left numerous sons by different wives but the three above mentioned are the only notable men amongst them.

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Meer i Wullee, although the second born son, was esteemed by the father before his brethren in consequence of his mother's high rank and influential family. His natural parts are much superior to those of his brothers; he has been better educated and trained to higher expectations. He is a tall, robust and corpulent person, with a ruddy countenance and rather fair complexion, compared with the prevalent cast. His beard is black, short and thin. The eyes are dark and penetrating, one of them being remarkable for a slight leprous cast. His nose was originally well shaped and somewhat *trousée*, but the effect of disease has depressed the ridge of it and elevated the tip so as to expose a view into the nostrils. He takes a great deal of snuff and constant intrusion of the fingers, which he screws into his nostrils together with a handkerchief, has increased their capacity to an unusual size. His mouth is large, the lips protuberant, a round face and high full cheeks. His dress is plain, in conformity with the modest Uzbek ideas of propriety. In manners he is stately and urbane; and in social intercourse fastidious, formal and dignified. He is intelligent, enterprising, bold and ambitious. In the latter quality, politic and circumspect. Liberal and conciliatory, he never intrudes his bigoted opinions upon others. Meer i Wullee is the head of the Moeytun tribe, which is the most numerous in the province. But the tribe commands less political influence, since the death of Killick Ali, than the Kudaghaun tribe led by the Prince of Kundooz.

In the autumn and winter of 1838-39 the Ameer of Cabul made war upon Muraad Beg and dispatched an army into Toorkistaun to repel his aggressions, which had extended beyond his southern boundary. Muraad was also suspected of ulterior designs against Bameean, the northern frontier of Cabul. The writer commanded a division of the Cabul army in this expedition . . . The Cabul army was joined by the independent chiefs of the country and the allied forces established Meer i Wullee in the hereditary possessions bequeathed to him by his father. His Highness was grateful for these services and became a

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sincere friend of the Afghaun ruler. A few months subsequently Dost Mahomed had occasion to test the Meer i Wullee's professions. When he was driven from Cabul by the English invasion of 1839 he became a guest at Tash Khoorghaun, where he was received and entertained with munificence and assisted in his designs against the city of Bulk. Dost Mahomed receiving permission from the Khan of Bocharrah, and assisted by his friend the Wullee, established his claims upon the city and its dependencies, which have since remained annexed to the Cabul dominion. The Wullee is much respected by his neighbors and feared by his enemies. His military effective force amounts to four thousand horse.

Baba Beg and Soofey Beg, in the late settlement made by the treaty betwixt the Ameer of Cabul and Muraad Beg, were allowed to keep Heibuck and Sir i Bagh. Together they are able to mount eight hundred horse.

Meer Muraad, Wullee i Darra Bee—now Prince of Kundooz.<sup>1</sup> This person must be classed amongst the fortunate adventurers who have risen to power in great measure through personal exertions, sustained by strong natural parts, assisted by a train of fortuitous events. Muraad belongs to the Kudaghaun tribe and is distantly connected by blood with the late ruling family, which became extinct during the life of Killick Ali Beg of Khoolum. He was not educated with a view to sovereign power. In early life he served as a common cavalier in the army of the Prince of Buddukh Shaun, an adjoining province to Kundooz. In this capacity he appears to have acquitted himself with credit and bravery, but not meeting with corresponding favor for his services, he retired in disgust to his native village. Here he remained until fortune became more propitious. He then reappeared upon the stage to act an important part in subsequent events. It is related that when in the service of the Prince of Buddukh Shaun the cause of inveterate hatred became implanted in Muraad's breast, who was never known to forgive an injury or forgo

<sup>1</sup> Meer Muraad, the son of Darius the Bee, a leader or chief of his tribe.—J.H.



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the execution of vengeance by a vindictive retribution ! On this occasion he stood alongside the Prince, having been dismounted in battle by the death of his horse, which had been shot under him in the Prince's presence. Muraad accompanied his leader as a pedestrian, travelling several marches in that painful mode. The journey was performed alongside his leader, who suffered the faithful follower to pursue his painful labor without offering him a horse ! The fatigue he sustained on that occasion, and the exasperation arising from neglected services, which although a very common return for military achievements, is nevertheless always a source of sore discontent to the sufferers, preying upon his vindictive mind, pierced deeply into the revengeful spirit of the ambitious soldier. The desire of vengeance became a principal action with Muraad and he subsequently accomplished an awful retribution when he gained the ascendancy in the province of Kundooz by marching off into slavery all the inhabitants of Fyzabad, the capital city of Buddukh Shaun. The population was removed *en masse* to the vicinity of Kundooz, where they still form a stock whence the slave marts of Toorkistaun are supplied.

Upon the failure of the hereditary line of Kundooz, Muraad, who had collateral claims to the succession, threw himself on the hospitality of Baba Beg, the oldest surviving son of the Khoolum chief. This young man, who was a friend of Muraad, applied to his father in his behalf and through his importunity succeeded in procuring his confirmation as chief of the Kudaghaun tribe, in opposition to the prudent policy of Killick Ali. The experienced chief of Khoolum, aware that the measure was fraught with danger to his own offspring, wisely pointed out the ultimate consequences. He warned his son against establishing an enemy of his house who would surely work his destruction. But the father of Baba Beg seems to have been constrained by a national custom, which obliged him to comply with his son's request, whose honor had been pledged to Muraad for the successful issue of his application.

After the demise of Killick Ali, Muraad seized upon the government of Kundooz ; and as the decline of the Cabul

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monarchy freed the Province of Bulkh from foreign control, Muraad's rapid accumulation of power secured his preponderance in the council of the assembled chiefs of the province. His views were also facilitated by the readiness with which the turbulent and discontented offspring of Killick Ali listened to his instigations. Acting on the principle of *divide et impera* the several claimants were excited to mutual destruction. When he had sufficiently exhausted their resources to weaken their influence even if they should again attempt to strengthen their cause by reunion, he offered his mediation for an amicable adjustment. The internal dissensions of the Mooeytun chiefs had reduced their political significance—their possessions were dismembered and principally attached to Kundooz. The Meer i Wullee was obliged to assume a subordinate position as the pensioned follower of Muraad, divested of political power. This settlement continued until the Avghaun invasion. Previous to this event Muraad could have brought into the field as paramount chief, including the quotas of the several local leaders under his immediate control, about eighteen thousand horse. By the treaty with the Ameer of Cabul he acknowledged the Karra Kotul and Hindoo Kush as his southern boundary, beyond which he was not to carry his predatory excursions. He relinquished the transit duties upon karrovans passing through Tash Khoorghaun in favour of Dost Mahomed and Meer i Wullee. Tash Khoorghaun is the grand thoroughfare, and has been so during many years, for karrovans passing and repassing between northern Asia and India. It is the last general mart before entering the range of Hindoo Kush and the natural boundary between the Uzbecks and the Avghauns. It is also the first place of commercial entry at which the traveller arrives after passing through the intricate Hindoo Kush barrier passing from the south. The amount of excise duties at this station is over one hundred thousand rupees. The transit duties were collected chiefly by Muraad Beg. He retains now only those accruing at the pass of the Hindoo Kush. Those of Tash Khoorghaun were placed under the control of Meer i Wullee and Dost Mahomed Khan, who es-

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established a collector in conjunction with the Tatar occupant of that city.

From Tash Khoorghaun the export trade is considerable. Wheat is sent to Cabul by karrovans, which return . . . without lading; also rice, maize, legumes and fruits; the latter dried. Raw silk in quantities, of which *loonges* and dress goods are made. Black lamb skins prepared in imitation of the Karra Koll skins and fox skins. Gold, sulphur, lead and orpiment. Horses, camels, the *Booghdee* dromedary, sheep and dogs. The imports are: tea, loaf sugar from Russia, China ware, Russian China ware, cochineal, gold thread, velvet, English and Russian broad cloths, English and India chintz, *udress* and *nanka* or *nan-keen* from Bocharrah. Hardware and cutlery, sheet iron, bar iron, sheet copper, bar steel, iron pots and various household articles of Russian manufacture. Also raw silk and paper from Bocharrah and Kokuna. Salt from India, and white and colored piece goods from India, and shawls of Cashmere. Antimony, arsenic and saltpetre are also brought from the south, although the latter, it is presumed, may be excavated in large quantities from the soil about the city of Bulkh. The province has no manufactures excepting coarse felts. Neither are the Uzbecks acquainted with any arts or sciences beyond those practised by all other semi-civilized Mahomedans of Central Asia. A duty of two and one half per cent. is collected on the transit trade from Moslem merchants and five per cent. from non-professors of that religion.

By Muraad's treaty with the Ameer Dost Mahomed his power was much reduced, and he stipulated to admit the Ameer's control in the politics of the Province of Bulkh. In the language of the treaty he acknowledged himself "the younger brother of the Ameer." He is still able to muster twelve thousand cavalry, but has in great measure lost his tribe's respect. In consequence of this forced treaty, the expectations of his heirs have been circumscribed, and they are dissatisfied. Serious feuds have sprung up in Muraad's family, the collateral branches of which, emboldened by the chief's age and feeble health, display a

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feeling of independence obnoxious to the integrity of his power. His brother's son is an aspiring youth who will probably displace Muraad's children, or at least create dissensions which must terminate in the partition of the principality after the chief's demise into many weak and petty village governments. These will become a ready prey to an active, ambitious man. Should Meer i Wullee survive Muraad Beg, he will rise to the power formerly held by his father. Soon after the evacuation of Toorkistaun by the Cabul force, Muraad seems to have lost his energetic character. He fell sick and became melancholy; his tributaries began to excite commotions; several prepared to throw off their allegiance; family feuds arose and his son and nephew martialled their parties for a struggle. Recourse was had to the Ameer of Bocharrah as the paramount, who appointed Meer i Wullee to arbitrate and arrange the family disputes! This measure has consequently given the Wullee an ascendancy little inferior to the former power of his rival.

The country near Huzarit Imaum, Hissar, Dirwauz, and Karra Tegin, in the north east of the province, is sandy and unproductive. Khost and Underab, situated on the northern face of the Hindoo Kush, are of small extent and mountainous, but the valleys are fertile. Their inhabitants are Tajicks. The country commands the pass of Finjan and is therefore an important possession of the two governments of Cabul and Kundooz. Dost Mahomed demanded the occupation of this pass, which was in the possession of Muraad Beg. That chief evinced extreme aversion to relinquish the place and demurred at this article of the treaty. In course of negotiation the Avghauns conceded the matter and Muraad readily assented to all the other articles in return for this concession of the pass.

Talikaun is a circumscribed hilly country near Huzarit Imaum, north of and adjoining Buddukh Shaun. Before the ascendancy of Muraad, frequent feuds arose between the chiefs of these districts, in which the province of Buddukh Shaun seems to have suffered most. Talikaun was thickly inhabited by predatory Uzbecks and their chief was active

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and persevering in exciting dissensions in the family of the enemy. They became mutually enfeebled and Muraad speedily seized the opportunity to extend his authority over the contestants and effectually moderated their disputes by carrying off many of the people into slavery to swell the census of Kundooz ! The country of Talikaun is described as fertile.

Fyzabad is the capital of Buddukh Shaun.<sup>1</sup> The province was conquered by Muraad Beg and added to his other possessions in the province of Bulkh about the year 1830. It was one of the most famous countries in the expired Empire of Samarkand. It is celebrated in Persian poetry for its fertile soil, amenity of climate, fine and luscious fruits, its beautiful gardens and valuable ruby mines. It has been despoiled in great measure of its historical wealth and splendor by the gradual decay which has marked the Moslem world within the last two centuries. And Muraad converted what remained of this once smiling paradise into a sterile desert waste ! Ruined gardens, neglected canals, and deserted villages are now the evidences of the scathing tyranny that has blasted the country ; and these melancholy memorials are all that now exist of Buddukh Shaun's former resplendent condition ! The chief of Kundooz luxuriates in the felicity of having reduced the happy population of a fruitful province to a state of slavery ! It was in this way Muraad visited the sins of their ruler upon his irresponsible subjects, for the personal insult inflicted upon him by their inconsiderate chief. Such was the immediate cause of their calamity ; but it is a holy superstition of neighboring nations which attributes the miseries of that fatality to a providential judgment inflicted upon the Prince of Buddukh Shaun, who is supposed to have received the divine vengeance by a violation of the rites of hospitality. He delivered into the power of his enemies, before whom his guest fled for protection to Buddukh Shaun, the unfortunate Prince of Yarkand when he was defeated by the Chinese in a patriotic attempt to recover possession of his hereditary rights. One of the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Fyzabad or Feisabad signifies the " City of Wealth."—J.H.

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princes of Buddukh Shaun now resides as stipendiary with the Khan of Mozar, whilst others are confined to the infectious atmosphere of Kundooz.

Buddukh Shaun is watered by the river Fyzabad, which rises in the Beloor Tagh. This country is open but hilly and possesses extensive agricultural resources. Here there is a tradition that formerly bread was not sold, from which the inference may arise that wheat grew spontaneously. This I have heard learned men assert of their individual knowledge. The ruby mines of the country are probably exhausted, at least those which were known ; but as the substance prevails in promiscuous deposits in a sandy matrix, many such may be discovered by careful research. The disturbed state of government and insufficient protection to property would deter adventurers from any effort to develop the resources of the district. I could not learn that any rubies of value had latterly been discovered. The rapacity of Muraad would certainly have unveiled the treasures if former localities had been productive. The mountains of Lockman or Lameckan, so called from the father of Noah, are in the vicinity of its southern boundary, and springs are found on the southern face of these mountains which throw up sand containing a large proportion of minute rubies ; some of the sand being altogether of that substance, affording an exceedingly beautiful material for sanding or rough casting articles of household furniture and other fine ornamental works of architectural display. These sands I have seen in the possession of Nawaub Jubbar Khan of Cabul.

Ghoree is the best cultivated part of Muraad Beg's possessions.<sup>1</sup> It is watered by a river of the same name which rises in the vicinity of Bameean. This river irrigates an extensive tract of fertile country, forming the most valuable appanage of Kundooz, and empties into the Oxus. There are two valleys south of the Karra Kotul important from their positions, which command the passes into the

<sup>1</sup> This Ghoree must not be confused with the district so called in the Hazarrahjaut'h, which formerly gave its name to a principality and also to a dynasty of Byram Ghoree.—J.H.

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Paropamisus from Toorkistaun. When the Cabul monarchy was subverted, the valleys, known by the appellations Kamed and Sykaun, remained under the authority of Killick Ali Beg ; and the neighboring country south as far as Ak Robat was included with Sykaun. Ak Robat is inhabited by Tajicks ; but the valleys of Sykaun and Kamed are peopled by Uzbecks. During the English occupation of Cabul, their frontier extended to the Karra Kotul, which had been established as the boundary between Cabul and Toorkistaun by the treaty made when the Avghauns evacuated Toorkistaun in the late expedition terminating at the commencement of 1839. When the English were expelled from Cabul these valleys of Sykaun and Kamed fell under the jurisdiction of Meer i Wullee.

In the immediate vicinity of Kundooz the land is fertile, well cultivated, and full of flourishing gardens. Kundooz is one of the most unhealthy positions. There is a notorious Persian proverb which says, "When tired of life go to Kundooz." The country is low and during several months of the year is unapproachable except over bridges and causeways. Strangers are especially subject to the effects of miasma and marsh fever, which prevails with devastating influence from March to December. Sufferers from marsh fever seldom recover entirely ; the constitution is invariably impaired and a long train of evils arising from subsequent imbecility leave to the wretched patient a lingering convalescence. The country is much overgrown with high grass and rushes, which afford an impervious cover to the fenny soil, secluding it from the sun's influence, concentrating and confining the fatal miasma. This evil under a different system of agriculture could be alleviated if not altogether removed. But these fens constitute the strength of the city and secure to Muraad the immunity of a demon defended by death. The population consists chiefly of slaves, who have been removed in large bodies from distant and refractory districts under the pretext of insurrectionary movements. The Prince has carried his hordes of cavalry as far as Dye Zungie in the Paropamisus towards the south west in search of slaves and to Chitraul for the same purpose

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on the south east. This traffic in Toorkistaun is no less destructive of human rights than in the interior of Africa. This market opens an insatiable outlet for the disposal of Muraad's insubordinate subjects, thousands of whom, with the useful and inoffensive Hazarrahs and the natives of Chitraul, are sold into distant and irredeemable bondage ! By this traffic Muraad has accumulated a treasure said to amount to one *crore* of rupees !<sup>1</sup> This treasure will remain stored up to reward the first fortunate invader stronger than the present proprietor, unless that prince's heirs and the future claimants of the dignity should disperse the ill-gotten wealth in warring for the succession. The period of Muraad's demise is probably not far off. This prince has always shown much jealousy of European intercourse. He has proved himself inhospitable to travellers of this description and is evidently averse to all friendly communication with Christians. The late approximation of British power to his territories will tend to aggravate his fears, although he made overtures of a friendly nature to the English when they were at Cabul.

Meer i Wullee is opposed to British influence and the same policy prevails throughout Toorkistaun. The foreign relations of the country are politically and geographically more closely allied with Russia than with their southern neighbors. The commercial facilities with the north are also greater than with the south ; and the inevitable result of contact with the English, appearing first as mercantile adventurers, followed by armies and ending in permanent conquests, has impressed an unqualified conviction that the commercial enterprise of England is in fact the precursor of invasion and pretext of conquest. The Toorks have for ages been dependent chiefly upon Russia for the necessities and luxuries which flow along with the streams of commerce and the novel efforts of England to establish a commercial reputation upon unfrequented ground, coupled with the military possession of all the countries they have visited in India, excites the fear of subjugation. These apprehensions have become largely sustained and

<sup>1</sup> A *crore* is equivalent to ten million rupees.



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strengthened by English operations amongst their Avghaun neighbors, whom they have seen victimized by the universal pretext of that nation in her Asiatic intercourse ! Russia will suffer by this English policy, in the falling off of her China transit trade and the ruin of her domestic manufactures. Unless England be met by Russia with similar weapons of defence in the establishment of commercial agencies at Bocharrah, Herat, Bulk, Cashgar and Yarkand, her commercial interests in Central Asia will become speedily deteriorated and ultimately extinct. These interests would be more safely managed for national benefit by a chartered company with corporate responsibility. Interests of so much importance would not be left to chance . . . direction of promiscuous adventurers whose pursuits are not identified with the national reputation.

Should the Oxus prove a navigable stream, it would become an outlet of vast advantage to the commerce of Central Asia. By this channel the overland journey through a desert of great extent would be avoided ; and the low prices consequent upon cheapened portage or freight would increase the consumption and extend the demand for Russian produce and manufactures far beyond the amount now used by the Uzbek states south of Kokand. Depots and fairs could readily be established on the coast of the Aral, at Khiva, Bocharrah, and Kundooz, and could be supplied by the line of communication between the north west coast of the Aral and the river Emba or Diem. By this route a short land carriage would intervene between the Aral and Astrakhan, via the Caspian, in place of the difficult and almost impassable desert now travelled between Khiva and Astrakhan. The obstacles to be anticipated in the navigation of the Oxus would doubtless be surmounted by the construction of flat-bottomed boats, and in a country where horses abound, those animals could be advantageously employed for the purpose of river navigation. In the absence of steam, which could not be readily applied in consequence of the sterility of that region and the deficiency of coal, horses may be substituted as a motive power with boats propelled by wheels. The time probably is not far

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distant when improvements in motive agencies will obviate the cumbersome impediments which still oppose the general use of the present steam engine, with its requisition of ponderous appliances. Coal and wood will be superseded by the use of inflammable substances of concentrated force and the electric fluid, air or other means now unimagined become familiar sources of locomotion !

In the plain of the Oxus the temperature is oppressive during summer. The refraction of heat from a parched and sandy soil is almost intolerable, and the natives who suffer little less than strangers, have not yet learned from their necessities the adaptation of those artificial means of comfort prevalent in the still more sultry climate of southern India. The rude habits of the Tatars, who are more capable of endurance than the delicate Indians, disregarding the luxury of that personal comfort attained by the sacrifice of physical activity, which to a native of the exhausting Indian climate is essential to his health. The late autumn rains, which dissipate the burdened atmosphere of summer, commence about the first of November and continue with little intermission until the cold of winter changes the phenomenon into snow. During February and March snow frequently falls but it does not lie permanently in consequence of the inefficient frosts, which are not so severe as to freeze the ground. It usually melts as it falls, except during the night, but is never seen far from the mountain skirts after meridian. During winter the thermometer will not fall below the freezing point in the plain between the mountain base and the river Oxus, but to the south every degree of cold prevails from the line of perpetual snow to that which has been mentioned. High winds are prevalent from the first to the fifteenth of January, accompanied by light rains, which make the air raw and chilly. At this season the accommodation of a *khirgah*<sup>1</sup> is peculiarly appreciable. The wood of the pistacha tree affords ample fuel for a fire, which now becomes necessary to domestic enjoyment. When winter breaks up and the weather be-

<sup>1</sup> The *khirgah* is a species of tent commonly used by the nomadic tribes of Central Asia.

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comes variable, a sudden cessation of cold causes the premature expansion, occasionally, of early blossoming fruit trees, when the almond and apricot frequently suffer by the treacherous indication of approaching spring. The climate during this period continues variable until the vernal equinox. After the tenth of April the weather becomes exceedingly sultry, and although there are no hot winds, as in India, the refraction from a sandy soil becomes distressing.

The horticultural operations of this season commence with pruning of the vine on the first of March. Their mode of cultivating the grape is peculiar to this region. Trenches are dug about one foot in depth, the earth being thrown up in the form of a terrace six or eight feet broad. The vine being set in these trenches, three feet apart, is allowed to run over the terrace to the next trench, at the edge of which it is cut off and the lateral branches trimmed in to three or four buds and made to spread. In this way the fruit is allowed to rest upon the ground, the lateral branches being pruned rather close in to the main stem. The effect of this plan will be to force the fruit by the heat on refraction from the earth. Soon after trimming the vine, water is let into the trenches, which are kept full, and it is allowed to stand a week ; after this first watering, irrigation is performed every two or three days, according to the humidity of the season. The vine should not be watered after the fruit begins to ripen : to water the vine whilst the saccharine principle is forming is said to deteriorate the flavor and sweetness of the fruit.

There are several kinds of this fine fruit, all of the most delicious nature. The sweetest, called *Kishmish*, is a black, seedless grape of an oval shape, about the size of the end of one's thumb. It makes a very good wine, and is much used for that purpose, notwithstanding the interdict of the Koran. But the manufacture of wine is confined to the Jews of the city of Bulkh. Mahomedans do not manipulate the grape for that purpose, although some of them do not object to indulge, furtively, in the use of the product. The use of wine is by no means a general habit in the com-

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munity ; the practice is confined to a few of the higher order, who consider themselves, and are by their inferiors admitted to be, above the law ! The grape of Cabul known by the name *Kishmish* is of a pale yellowish cast and much smaller. The Jews who make the wine pursue their illicit trade with strict secrecy, and so long as the faithful are not scandalized by the public exhibition of wine, or the consequences of its consumption, the *Mohteseb*, or public censor, never searches for transgressors in the retirement of their domiciles. Here also every man's house is his castle, although it is sometimes liable to illegal invasion by the caprice of tyranny. Wine is not an article of commerce here or in Cabul ; it is a luxury but little used. There are two other species of this fruit of a light greenish color, both of which are decidedly superior in flavor.

The most important application of the grape is its manufacture into *sheerah*. This product is the recently expressed juice of the fruit, inspissated until it assumes the consistence and appearance of a syrup. This substance is in general use by the population for purposes of sweetening, and cheaply supplies the place of sugar. Like treacle also, it is converted into candies, being blanched in the process of working it. The higher classes, however, use the fine white sugar imported from Russia. This is formed into cone-shaped loaves covered with blue paper, and is largely consumed. The refined *misserie*<sup>1</sup> or candie of India is also an article much used. The Russian sugar is supposed by them to be made from the beetroot. The syrup formed from the grape is called *sheerah*. It is from this the native confectioners make the sweetmeats so celebrated in the story books of the East. This substitute for sugar is the chief object of the grape culture and vast quantities of the *sheerah* are annually produced. It may be sold at half the price of coarse dark colored sugar imported from the south.

A fruit scarcely less useful and still more grateful to the palate in a hot climate is the pomegranate. Those of Bulkh are probably not surpassed by any others, unless

<sup>1</sup> So called from *miser*, the Arabic name for Egypt, whence sugar was originally brought into Central Asia.—J.H.

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the produce of the celebrated gardens of Samarkand, which have been much extolled, may claim precedence. There is nothing so refreshing or more conducive to the health of an invalid from fever than the juice of the pomegranate ; large quantities of it may be drunk with singular benefit. A single fresh pomegranate will average the weight of one pound !

Pristacha nuts are abundant in the bazaars. This tree is the principal constituent amongst the products of the forest. It produces, by annual alternations, a crop of fruit and a crop of blights. The latter, called *Boozgoonge*, is double the size of the fruit and consists of an empty shell, the extract of which is used as a mordant upon silk. It is more valuable than the fruit, to which it bears a close resemblance. This fact has given rise to a standing joke, current amongst the facetious. In Mahomedan, or rather in Asiatic communities, the male candidates for matrimony having no opportunity for personal inspection in the selection of a wife, must form the judgment of the ladies' individual attractions by such collateral and adventitious circumstances as may be available. A family is selected remarkable for comeliness and the personal beauty of the girl's brothers is esteemed a fair inferential basis of opinion. Should an individual secure a homely wife from these premises, he is subject to be rallied with the misfortune of getting *Boozgoonge* !

The spring fruits are cherries, red and liver colored ; various sorts of mulberries, which are dried and sold with other fruit similarly prepared at the conclusion of the season. The mulberry is cultivated extensively in large plantations, the leaves being used to raise silkworms. Raw silk is a staple of the country. Apricot trees form extensive orchards in the high lying villages of the south. When favored by climate and soil they grow like forest trees to a considerable size ! They are the principal trees in the vicinity of cities and villages. The quantity of fruit produced is immense. It serves for many purposes of domestic utility. The stones being extracted, the pulp is pressed and dried in the form of figs. Oil is expressed from the kernel and consumed for culinary purposes and illumination.

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The best apricots, after being freed from the stone, which is replaced by an almond kernel, are pressed in the form of figs, dried, and thus prepared for sale as an agreeable refreshment. The yellow acid species of apricot is worked into a mass when quite ripe, rolled out into sheets, and when dried in the shade, formed into rolls. This substance is then called *kisht*; it is used as cooling condiment and much in vogue as a horse medicine. A large quantity is consumed by dyers in their processes, and this is its chief application. There are several varieties of the plum. The most favored and agreeable being the *Aloo Bocharrah* and the dark blue prune plum. The former, when dried, acquires a sharp acid taste, which the recent fruit possesses in a slighter degree. A cold infusion of this variety forms a pleasant refrigerant much used as an antifebrile remedy or potion not unlike the infusion of Tamarinds. The soft and hard shelled almond are plentiful; also several kinds of excellent large peaches. Melons are abundant and of superior quality. The water lemons are sweet, crisp and well flavored. The musk melon is similar to other fruit of the kind, in which there is less variety of flavor than any other fruit, grow where it may. All the musk melons I am acquainted with in all parts of the world are much the same in taste and quality, the size only being a distinguishing trait! The cantaloupes consists of few varieties, all of which are very good. The finest are produced at Kundooz and near the Oxus. A melon of this description was brought to me from Kundooz in the month of February, to which period it had been artificially preserved, that weighed about eight pounds! When fresh it must have been something heavier.

Wheat, rice, Indian corn or maize, barley, millet, and legumes are amongst the staples of the province. The prices of grain compared with the rates of Cabul are as four to seven. Seven *seers* of Cabul,<sup>1</sup> about seventy pounds of flour, being procurable for one rupee at Khoolum, whilst forty pounds are sold for the same price at Cabul in dear season. All sorts of grain are dearer at Khoolum than

<sup>1</sup> The *seer* or *assar* of Cabul is equal to ten pounds English.—J.H.

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elsewhere in the province. *Kafilas*<sup>1</sup> returning from Toorkistaun to Cabul frequently load with grain, especially wheat, which pays a small freight. Their forage consists of cultivated trefoil, the comminuted straw of wheat and barley and the natural mountain grass. Rice, of which the best quality is grown at Kundooz, is the dearest or highest priced, grain and barley the lowest ; this last mentioned is in general use for horse feed and sometimes by the poor for bread. Five *seers* or fifty pounds of fine rice may be bought for one rupee and seven *seers* of barley, when the markets during several months have been subject to an unusual demand. The ordinary prices are as follows, viz., wheat (8 *seers*), rice (6 or 7 *seers*), barley (10 *seers*) for one rupee. Although Bulkh is four degrees north of Cabul, its vegetable productions indicate a warmer climate, owing to its elevation above the sea being much less than Cabul.

In their taste for the ornamental arts of life the Uzbecks are behind the natives of India, Avghanistaun, or Persia. They have productive gardens of excellent fruit and are well supplied with edible vegetables similar to our own, but little attention is bestowed upon the elegant in horticulture. Their flowers are, consequently, few and not of a pleasing variety. Gold is found in the sands of the Oxus, and no doubt exists in the rivers which flow into that stream. A forest tree does not exist in this immense mountain range. The vegetation is found only in the dells, ravines and valleys !

The domestic animals are numerous and remarkable for size and strength. The horse is larger and stronger, possesses more bottom and is capable of enduring longer journeys without suffering from fatigue. The Toorkoman horse is probably surpassed in fleetness by the Arab, but in other respects he is superior to any of his kind in Asia. The horse is much a creature of education, and the development of his capabilities depends upon systematic instruction and careful feeding. A horse that receives full diet and appropriate food, if he be well groomed and exercised with proper training, will exhibit a more beautiful

<sup>1</sup> Small caravans.

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and pampered contour, a fullness of muscle, and silky softness of skin, all of which qualities may rank him amongst the pleasure train of a princely stud. But strength, bottom and speed require a different regimen. Vastly different is the same animal in appearance when bred for display than when trained for hard work. The horses of the *alemani*, or cavalry engaged in *chupppoul*<sup>1</sup> by predatory marauders, are lank, long legged, slim in barrel, high in bone, presenting a picture of famine, but all there is of them is compact, firm muscle, with nerves of steel. They will travel one hundred miles daily and pass over one thousand miles in ten consecutive days! The horse capable of performing such a service is said to have his *sowgoon* and resembles a cast iron figure! There is a small, stout, square-built, sure-footed horse called *Yaboo* used for the pack saddle, and is a valuable carrier on long and mountainous journeys. He is frequently piebald and fantastically spotted, with a rough and shaggy coat, fetlocks sweeping the ground, and heavy tail and mane—a strong, enduring and sure-footed animal. Wheeled carriages are not used, although the country north of the mountains is well adapted to that sort of conveyance. Locomotion is managed by mules, asses, camels, bullocks and horses.

The camel, so appropriately called the ship of the desert, is a most important animal. There are three species. The first is called the Bactrian camel. He has two humps and is very powerful. He is not much used for carrying; his great value arises from his use to breed from. The dromedary or single-humped camel is common to all parts of Asia and is much valued for transit service. But the species principally sought after for that purpose and by far the best burthen animal known is a mongrel called *Booghdee*. He is derived from the large, woolly, double-humped Bactrian male camel and the single-humped female dromedary. The *Booghdee* strongly favors his male parent, being stout of body, with short legs, a woolly coat, and is characterized by strong claws, which enable the animal to help himself effectually in the ascent of heights or prevent

<sup>1</sup> Raids.



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slipping on a clayey soil in wet weather. The hump is single and the head and tail are large. He makes no noise when his load is taken down, or put upon his back. In this respect he is very different from the ordinary dromedary, which is a most noisy brute, and will not allow his load or person to be touched without roaring vociferously. The *Booghdee* carries a heavier weight and makes longer marches with less fatigue, as he is more sure-footed than the common dromedary, and capable of greater endurance than any other variety of camel. He is patient, quiet and tractable, and safer for hill travelling. He passes over bad roads, even in rainy weather, with comparative ease. He will rise under the weight of eight hundred pounds and carry the load over a plain several days at a slow pace ; but for a long mountainous journey should not have more than four or five hundred pounds.

The domestic sheep abounds in the plain of the Oxus and in the valley south of Bulkh. They are of the broad-tailed variety, and the mutton is unsurpassed. The wild sheep, which is supposed to be the type of the domestic animal, inhabits the mountains of the Paropamisus. It is called *Mar Khora* in the Persian language, which signifies snake eater. A natural hostility exists between the snake and *Mar Khora*, who not only destroys but also eats his enemy ! This animal, which has the contour of an ordinary red deer, resembles the domestic sheep only in his horns ; in size the horns are immensely larger than the domestic animals. The wild sheep is a noble animal common in the Hindoo Kush range ; he stands about four feet in height and measures more than six in length. His horns frequently attain the thickness of a man's thigh ; he is bold and agile and exceedingly ferocious in his amatory combats. The flesh of this animal forms the principal viand of the Hazarrah chiefs and their attendants in the elevated fortresses of the Paropamisus. The domestic sheep, when fattened, is heavier than his Cabul neighbor. They are sold in Bulkh at four rupees per head. They are collected in large numbers at the chief city on stated market days and thence distributed to different parts of the country.

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Of dogs there are several species, all of which are more or less valuable. There are few worthless creatures of this description and they are not found in the half wild, vagrant hordes commonly seen in the cities of Asia. The most beautiful and valuable dog bred in the province is a smooth-haired greyhound, the prevailing color of which is black. They are greatly esteemed by the natives. The feat of running down an antelope is quite an ordinary occurrence and is apparently performed without an effort on the part of the dogs, who are fleet, bold and powerful. Many of the peasantry keep these dogs for coursing foxes, which are of the large, red species. The skins of these foxes are dressed, and form an article of export to Cabul, where they are made into *posteens* or large winter cloaks. There are also numerous mongrel dogs and large herds of jackals, or as the Persians called the last named animal, *shugall*. These inhabit the valleys near the plain. The yelling of the jackal is a frightful noise, and when heard in a dark, still night, creates a feeling of terror in the listener. There is a small, crooked-legged wiffit which they call *pesta*, used for ferreting rabbits, killing wild rats and other vermin. He is a fierce, troublesome, little animal and makes a good watchdog, being always alert, active and noisy. Large mastiffs are bred in the mountains and serve to assist the pastoral tribes in guarding their flock from the depredations of wolves, which are numerous and destructive to sheep, horned cattle and colts. I have known one or more wolves to enter our camp and carry off five or six sheep in the course of a single night! A regular sentry is not a sufficient safeguard. A wolf, emboldened by hunger, slyly watching an opportunity, will seize and carry away his prey as a sentry changes position on his post!

The common barn-door fowl and a fine breed of the game species are reared in abundance and may be bought at the rate of eight or ten for the rupee. A large fowl will go nearly as far in a *pillao*<sup>1</sup> as a young lamb! *Chuckoors*, or

<sup>1</sup> *Pillao* is a dish common to many Asiatic communities, the ingredients of which vary according to local usage. In Central Asia it consists usually of boiled mutton, boiled rice and sour cheese.

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hill partridges, golden pheasants and grey partridges of the plain form a delectable resource for the gastronome. They are caught in snares and hunted with hawks. The pheasant, if pinched with hunger and stupefied by cold, as he is very liable to be, will not rise on the wing when pursued ; he may then be readily captured. This employment is frequently practised by the peasantry as an amusement in their winter leisure. Ducks and other waterfowl are numerous, but not much used for food. I do not remember seeing any domestic stock of this kind in the province. Immense flocks of waterfowl, such as the stork and crane, also sparrows and other migratory birds, cross the Hindoo Kush in their annual visit to and from the southern tour. Travellers who have occasion to cross the mountains at the same time say of the largest of the stork kind when they meet in the highest altitudes, that they are frequently obliged to elbow them off the path, from which they are precipitated, and reach the bottom of the ravines with evident difficulty, the rapid vibration of their wings scarcely saving them from destruction ! This difficulty in sustaining their weight in the air is owing to the rarefaction of the atmosphere, from the great elevation of the mountain heights. The highest elevation of the Hindoo Kush is 18,000 feet above the level of the sea ! These large storks may frequently be seen laboring up the steep passes on foot, upon the high road across the Hindoo Kush, struggling with human passengers to pass each other ! The skylark of Tataria is much larger than the same species found in India. The Persian name of this bird is *Jell*. His faculty of receiving instruction, and sweet tones, make him a favorite with the luxurious. They are frequently carried in cages to Cabul, Bocharrah and other cities throughout India. The writer has seen the same species of bird encaged and offered for sale in Canton, China, at the price of two hundred dollars for a good songster !

The antiquities of the province will be found useful for elucidating the chronology of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The coins of Euthydemus, bearing the figure of a head in high relief, with the Greek inscription on the reverse, *Basileus Euthydemoy* ; also of Menander—the latter having a human

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figure clothed in a lion's skin—are not uncommon. It is probable that reliquæ of ancient cities will be found in the district of Buddukh Shaun and Chitraul, and near D'heer, on the high road thence to Badjour, which is supposed to be the Bezoria of Quintus Curtius. In Swaat and Boneare, valuable collections of medals may be made of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coinage.

In the Province of Bulkh the revenue system is less exacting and the tax more fairly collected than in Khorassan or India. It is derived from the cultivator by means of an assessment levied upon the produce of the soil, and received in kind; and from a customs duty of two and a half per cent. upon the transit of merchandise, the number of their flocks and herds, cattle and horses, and police fines. Upon the produce of the soil, government levies one third the gross amount and the expenses of collection are abstracted from the remaining two thirds. The landholder receives the balance. If he farms on shares, the laborer receives half the landholder's portion, making a third of the net produce. The claims of government extend to a division of the straw, upon which a price is fixed and comprised in the settlement. The value of the straw in a hard winter is, in Cabul, nearly equal to that of the grain. In the Province of Bulkh a great quantity of natural grass is used for forage, which is consequently less scarce in winter than in a more populous country. The laborer appears comfortable and is apparently sufficiently provided for as to the necessities of life, and he is not altogether deficient in some of the luxuries. The landholder has horses for riding and leisure for hunting; his dogs for coursing and slaves to assist him in his working of the land. The population dresses warmly in inclement weather and feeds upon wholesome nourishment.

They suffer a great evil in the prevalence of a purveyance system. This authorizes oppressive exactions, in which their chiefs are inexorable. The pretexts of Charles the First are mild compared with the innumerable contrivances of a Tatar chief and his satellites to wrest the just dues of honest labor from its rightful owner! The government is

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in the hands of a single chief, who administers all the affairs thereof by the influence of his will and pleasure. His orders are absolute and there is no appeal from his commands. The Koran should be the rule of government in all Mahomedan communities. By this rule church and state are inseparable, or rather the chief object of a government is to enforce the practices of religion. The Mahomedan religion has become extinct, for all the purposes of political power, in consequence of its no longer forming a part of the national system. Theoretically there can be but one Mahomedan government for all Mahomedan communities. There can be but one *Kheleefa*, the legal representative of the Prophet, and all Moslems owe to him the obedience of subjects. All chiefs, governors, potentates, and powers acknowledge the *Kheleefa* as the head of their state. Since the Sooltaun of Turkey has lost the supremacy that at one time practically distinguished him as the head of the Mahomedan world, and many powerful Moslem states have maintained an absolute political existence independent of the Sublime Porte, the Mahomedan religion has become practically extinct as a part of their policy, and a system of laws founded upon national usage and the will absolute of the chief, which are known as the *Ooriff* law, have become established and taken the place of the Koran. This is the kind of government existing throughout Mahomedan communities, although amongst the orthodox Moslems the Sooltaun is still the nominal ecclesiastical head.

The people are submissive, respectful to their superiors, alert and crafty from the necessity of guarding against the caprice of their rulers. Their chiefs seldom abuse their power, being patriarchs in fact as they are in theory. Muraad Beg is a prominent and unusual exception to this remark. That prince seizes every opportunity of selling his subjects into slavery. He goads them to desperation by tyrannical usages, then sells them into slavery as a punishment for refractory movements! Insubordination towards his cruel deputies brings down his vengeance upon the population, of whom thousands, and frequently village communities *en masse*, are removed from their homes, their

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chief men sold into distant slavery, and the body of the people located upon a strange soil in the vicinity of his capital.

The pastoral classes of the Mooeytun tribe frequent the plain and valleys near Ghizneeguk in winter and ascend, as the weather moderates, into the higher altitudes of the south. During the spring and summer months they occupy the district of Char Chushma, where verdant hills afford abundant resources for their nomadic life. The nomadic class of the Kudaghaun tribe have the country of Ghoree appropriated for their use as winter quarters and move towards the Hindoo Kush when the season of approaching spring suggests a change of locality. The camps of shepherds are governed by their own chiefs, selected by the prince of their tribe from amongst their own class, the principal chief exercising merely a paramount influence in their civil affairs.

The civil and criminal laws of the Uzbecks are theoretically based on the Koran. The Cady should decide and pass judgment in all cases and the sentence be inflicted by the chief's orders. But the law of *Ooriff*, which is based on the prince's absolute will, usually prevails. Judgments under this arbitrary law are only effective and obligatory so long as the power exists by which they are ordained. They are esteemed usurpations and such judgments expire with the extinction of the government. No law is considered legal or binding unless based upon the Koran or book of traditions.

The military force consists of the primitive military system that has existed from the earliest period of time. With the exception of a few household slaves, who attend, armed, upon the chiefs, there is no military display. Upon emergencies the population is called out, usually mounted, and mostly armed with sword, shield and spear. Fire-arms are but seldom used, except for garrison defence. When the soldier is free from danger behind a wall he is capable of making a tolerable defence against cavalry armed with spears; but the Uzbecks have a great dread of fire-arms. Their disputes are universally settled by negotiation and arbitration. Muraad Beg, of late years, has main-

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tained a regular force of five hundred cavalry, who receive regular issues of pay and are always in attendance or prepared to act as a bodyguard. The Uzbek armies are embodied for immediate and transient service. Every man who is a landholder is liable to be called upon for the performance of military duty. This service is the tenure by which he is enfeigned of his lands. In a national emergency a force of this kind amounting to one hundred thousand cavalry, for the most part poorly mounted, may be brought into the field. They also carry with them their own subsistence, and could not hold together for a longer period than ten or fifteen days.

When a foray is intended, the chief causes proclamation to be made on a public market day in some conspicuous part of the town, to the effect that at a specified period their attendance is expected at the capital for service. The time of service is certified, which seldom exceeds fifteen days. The people are punctual in meeting at the appointed time; they proceed upon the expedition martialled under their respective village leaders, and on the day their time of service expires everyone scampers off and returns to his native village without the ceremony of leave-taking or dismissal! It sometimes happens, when unlooked-for obstacles retard their operations, that the chief is obliged to leave unfinished an important enterprise, and hurry away with his dispersing force to the shelter of his stronghold. The natives are quite deficient in warlike enterprise and possess no military genius whatever.

When the threatened depredations of a powerful chief oblige his neighbors to assume a defensive attitude, the victory is seldom decided by actual hostilities. The opposing armies enter the arena, but not within gunshot of each other; a few individual sallies of vaunting cavaliers are made in advance, the parties uttering unearthly yells of defiance and assuming threatening attitudes, and the main bodies come to a halt. A parley ensues, an interview between the leaders follows, and some such character as Shoojah ul Deen Khan, revered by the contending parties for the sanctity of his profession, proposes an amicable

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adjustment, and the affair terminates with the harmless festivities of a tournament. An interchange of civilities, accompanied by presents, the value of which is regulated by the weakness of one party and the ability of the other to exact a contribution, become the pledges of future forbearance, and the armies separate, to remain at peace until the next season of levying contributions comes around. This will be after the period of harvest home, "when Kings go out to battle." Although no organized and regularly paid force is generally maintained, the relations of the several local chiefs with each other make it expedient to have a disposable and more efficient military than a militia system affords. For this purpose grants of land are made to prominent individuals in *jaghire*, or upon the plan of knight's tenure, in return for which the recipient binds himself to serve his superior at all times when called upon, and engages to attend upon his chief with a specified number of followers, well mounted and accoutred for actual service. He is supposed to be always able to obey a summons on a sudden notification: but he is not expected to make a daily muster of his retainers. By this system the military force of the several chiefs has been rated as already stated.

The arms of the Uzbecks in the field are, a spear about twelve feet long and a sword of various shape. The Persian sabre is of frequent occurrence and also the Hindoostanee *tulwar*, a sword less curved than the sabre. Many of their swords resemble and are called knives, being twelve or eighteen inches long and straight. The straight sword is rather an insignia of official rank, being worn by the functionaries of *darbar* in gold and silver sheaths, both ornamented and plain. Fire-arms are seldom used, except under cover; they are scarcely ever employed by the Uzbecks of the plain. The mountaineers defend their *kishlacks*, or villages, with fire-arms, and are capital marksmen. The natives of Buddukh Shaun are doubtless the best foot soldiers, accurate in the use of the matchlock and brave behind walls. The writer has known them to defend a fort with desperate but unavailing bravery against the siege and assault of regular troops. The Uzbecks have a great horror of bloodshed,



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and think that prudence is the better part of valor ! Their military demonstrations are confined generally to predatory excursions against some weak, unprotected neighbor, who is set upon by surprise and seized when occupied in the fields, away from assistance. The boldest effort they are known to practise is exhibited in the attack on a karrovan of harmless merchants, not infrequently poorly prepared for defence. Upon such game the Uzbek throws himself, but with a cautious display of craftiness ! He will usually make the attempt at night, lying in wait and rushing out from an ambush and falling upon his destined prey with frightful and unearthly yells. He attacks with his long spear, near the end of which he has fastened a composition of wild fire, lighted into a blaze, about the moment of onset ! They charge through the line of horror-stricken travellers, relying upon the victims' fears, and if they meet with no resistance, as is generally the case, these merciless robbers bind the people and carry away men, merchandise and beasts to their private haunts in the mountain fastnesses.

To the western Uzbek, residing near the desert of Khwarazam, the most valuable object of plunder is man ! When they have seized upon as many as can be managed, they have a savage method to secure their prey, who are destined to slavery. To oblige the prisoner to keep up near their horses' heels in the retreat and prevent them from lagging, a strand of horse hair is passed, by means of a long, crooked needle, under and around the collar bone, a few inches from its junction at the sternum ; with their hair a loop is formed to which they attach a rope that may be fastened to the saddle ! The captive, by this diabolical contrivance, is constrained to keep near the retreating horseman, and with his hands tied behind his person, is altogether helpless.

The term light cavalry has been applied with applause to the assemblages of Uzbek horse. It is an imposing designation to civilized ears, implying the existence of qualities which constitute the *beau ideal* of an expert and useful cavalry soldier. In regard to the military array of this people, nothing can be more untrue than to characterize

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it as an organization of light cavalry as we understand the term. Their armies are promiscuous bodies of badly-mounted men, armed with a long, heavy spear, without order or method in their movements, incapable of combined attack, and inefficient for any other purpose of war than a wild, savage foray where opposition is not to be encountered. There are many fine horses amongst a large body of Uzbek cavalry, but when so much depends upon moral courage as in the design of light cavalry organisation, the Uzbek is the last who should be selected for such employment, or to whom the term could with propriety attach. I speak of them as they are ; but discipline would no doubt work a wonderful change in their present habits, and it is possible they might be moulded into a useful arm of aggression. The custom of every man carrying the rations of himself and horse, for the time of his anticipated service, gives their loaded animals, when about to start upon a *chup-poul*, the appearance of pack horses, and the whole turn-out is more like a karrovan prepared for passing a desert than a body of light cavalry for active service.

The Uzbeks of Bulkh are not acquainted with the management of cannon in the field. There are a few pieces at Kundooz, which Muraad appears to hold more in terror than respect. There was one piece of monstrous calibre, left at the city of Bulkh by Nadir Shah,<sup>1</sup> or rather the general who subjugated the province on his march toward Hindoostan. It was removed to its present position by the chief of Kundooz, and is now lying dismantled and neglected. The approach of the Cabul army awakened Muraad to a sense of its utility. The display of power exhibited by the train of artillery attached to the Avghaun invading army impressed a convincing lesson upon the mind of Meer i Wullee, who witnessed their service in the siege and capture of Derrah i Esoff. He was anxious to procure cannon and organize a corps, but his success is doubtful, unaided as he is by anyone acquainted with the management of guns. There are also four pieces of ordnance in the possession of

<sup>1</sup> Nadir Shah, sovereign of Persia, seized Herat in 1730, and in the years following subjugated the whole of Afghanistan.

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Muraad that formerly belonged to Killick Ali Beg. In his hands they are equally useless with the gigantic accompaniment, which by the improper management of ignorant operatives would be more dangerous to themselves than destructive to an enemy. When in trepidation of the Avghaun army, the chief of Kundooz proposed mounting the piece, but failed in the attempt from deficiency of experienced artificers. A high terrace was constructed, overtopping the city wall, upon which this great gun was laid without a carriage ! Its direction commanded the causeway by which the city was approached, with the preposterous notion of frightening the invaders by this futile demonstration ! The fact was well known that there were no balls to fit the calibre ; grape might have been wasted on the desert air, as an enemy would scarcely have approached upon its line of defence, which, indeed, must have been deranged by the first discharge.

The Ameer of Bocharrah has lately made an abortive attempt to organize a company of artillery on the European system. The effort was owing to the suggestion of a Persian adventurer, who gained some knowledge of military affairs by actual service in the regular force of a Persian prince. The Ameer of Bocharrah has not subdued his jealousy of delegated power so far as to create a regular military force organised in the European manner. To entrust a native Uzbek with the control of a corps, subject to the command absolute of a subordinate, would be creating an antagonist ; to elevate a slave to the rank of general would be placing arms in the hands of an enemy. His Highness is not acquainted with the system of retaining paramount control through the exercise of patronage, and deputing the executive authority ; at least the Ameer has not sufficient confidence in any one of his subordinates to make the attempt ! Thus his ambition languishes between the desire of power and jealousy of its instruments.

The population is made up of Uzbecks chiefly, with a mixture of Arabs, Jews, Hindoos, Tajicks and Avghauns. The Uzbecks first crossed the Jaxartes<sup>1</sup> and entered their

<sup>1</sup> The Jaxartes is now known as the Syr Darya.

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present possessions about the beginning of the sixteenth century as conquerors. Their vernacular dialect is the Toorky language, although the Persian tongue is used in their literature and spoken in ordinary intercourse. There are but few Arabs and Jews ; of the latter four or five families reside at the city of Bulkh. These pursue the calling of traders, extending their connections to Bocharrah and neighboring cities.

Wherever there is a bazaar Hindoos are a necessary part of the establishment ! These people are always found amongst the buyers and sellers in all the cities of Central Asia and constitute the bankers or money changers in all commercial communities there. They are well treated and form an indispensable part of the population. All financial affairs are entrusted to their management. The prime minister of Meer Muraad Beg is a Hindoo, a native of Peshawar. This individual possesses great wealth and powerful political influence ; it is an extraordinary fact that he possesses many Mahomedan slaves. This privilege is tacitly permitted by the prince, but it is a scandal in a Moslem community, and an evidence of his commanding position no less than the degradation of Islam. The fact is indeed contrary to the law of the Koran, that a Moslem should be held in bondage by an unbeliever.

The Tajicks are numerous, being the descendants of Persian ancestors. The Avghauns amount to about ten thousand families (in which the *Koneh Nokur* are not included). They are immigrants from Cabul who have been driven into exile by the exorbitant territorial taxes levied by the Ameer. They are chiefly from the vicinity of Koh Damun. They have been forcibly detained by the Uzbek authorities, whose policy it is to prevent the emigration of the agricultural class.

The population of the province does not exceed eight hundred thousand. The Uzbecks are of the orthodox or *Soonee* sect. Many of the Tajicks still hold in secret the *Sheah* faith of their Persian ancestors. But there are none openly professing the tenets of this sect, which is abhorred by the Uzbecks, and the Tajicks have generally adopted the

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sectarian principles of the population amongst which they have become domiciled. A *Sheah* is considered as much an infidel as a Hindoo and is also a more odious object of persecution. It is an act of merit to sell a *Sheah* into slavery, whilst a Jew or Christian cannot legally be deprived of liberty or converted into property because they have "the Prophets to their fathers." The Hindoo is prized as a valuable acquisition in their civic communities, and is therefore protected in his individual rights. All Christians have heretofore been identified with each other, but since the interests of Russia and England have been conflicting on the plains of Tatar, the political relations of the several European governments are more distinctly comprehended. Their exclusive dependence upon Russia for most of the luxuries and many of the essentials of life necessarily attach them to the interests of that power. The proximity of the English in Cabul, their grasping at political power, their daily strides of conquest, the permanent establishment of their dominion wherever their relations have extended, cause a jealous apprehension of English ascendancy. Notwithstanding the Mahomedan aversion to idolatry, the Hindoo, as well as all other non-professors of Islams, are allowed the private exercise of their religion. Processions or other public demonstrations of religious ceremonies would be discountenanced.

There is no idea of impurity attached to Christians amongst the orthodox sect of Mahomedans. The writer has often had the Uzbek chiefs served with tea at his tent, of which they readily partook, and evidently with a clear conscience. The *Sheahs* are more discountenanced than any other sect, and except slaves, are not eligible to offices of trust in their establishments! The Uzbecks are not a devotional people. In a Mahomedan community religion is the primary object of life. In the days of their increasing power the principles of the Koran were accurately enforced as a sacred and indispensable duty of each individual member. Religion amongst the Moslem race is now fast declining and has degenerated into a cold and formal discharge of ceremonials amongst the Uzbecks; indeed they

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are seldom seen performing their prayers in public, as is the custom with neighboring nations. They are grave in their deportment and by no means accustomed to light or trivial conversation or addicted to the use of oaths. They have an aversion or superstitious awe against taking an official oath and will frequently quietly submit to wrongs and petty losses of a pecuniary nature rather than sustain their claims, in default of evidence, agreeably to the usage of Mahomedan law, by a solemn oath or affirmation ! Neither are they willing to involve others in the responsibility of "eating an oath."<sup>1</sup>

The pilgrimage to Mecca is a religious duty to be performed at least once in the lifetime of every Moslem. This duty, if not performed, must be compensated for by elemosynary gifts and with the wealthy these donations frequently appear in the form of permanent bequests, thus extending the benevolence to future generations. The pilgrimage is seldom performed by the Uzbecks, but alms to the poor, to holy men, to *Moolahs*, and grants of land to sacred establishments are frequent. Games of chance, smoking and drinking are prohibited. Smoking *Cherse* and the use of *B'heng*<sup>2</sup> and opium in secret are their usual means of intoxication. These people are decidedly the most sober of any Moslem community I am acquainted with : at least the public exhibition of licentiousness is never seen ; an habitual drunkard would be a shameful prodigy ! The *Mohteseb*, or public censor, enjoys a sinecure amongst this people. Their reverence for professed morality and their regard for decency of manners, prevent the public violation of propriety ; such evidence of depravity would call for the exercise of the *Mohteseb's* authority.

The *Moolahs* are fond of preaching up the practices of austerity, but it is well known they are privately addicted to all kinds of sensuality and the most abandoned depravity. They are termed the *ulima*, this being the plural derived from the work *ilim*, or knowledge. They are a numerous

<sup>1</sup> In the Persian, *kussum khooren*.—J.H.

<sup>2</sup> *Cherse* and *B'heng* are preparations from the *Canabis Indicus*. The latter is called *Hatchiss* by the Turks in Europe.—J.H.

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class and have great influence from the sanctity of their profession. A solemn respect for these professors pervades every rank of life. They resort in bodies to the shrine of *Moortazali* at Mozar, and they are careful to maintain the ascendancy of their own body and keep up a superstitious veneration for their pretensions to sanctity and holiness by the promulgation of false miracles. They are the living repositories of the religion of the people and the education of the rising generation is under their control. By the force of public opinion they exercise a weighty authority over the minds of a superstitious community, but they possess no direct political power in the administration of government as an independent body with defined political privileges. Their influence is entirely moral. Their weight of character is frequently beneficially exerted to reconcile quarrels and feuds. Many who have the reputation of austere lives and extreme sanctity are supposed to possess the power of working miracles! Turning aside a ball discharged from a cannon, transmuting the powder into ashes and blunting swords in battle, or causing the weapon to wound the person who wields it, in place of the opponent, are common occurrences, if their assertions may be credited!

The miraculous powers ascribed to the tomb of Ali are still more surprising. Every year at an appointed season, in the presence of an assemblage of pilgrims coming from many distant parts of Asia, the blind are restored to sight, the lame are cured, the deaf regain their hearing, and many other salutary benefits are bestowed through the intervention of attendant priests, who give all the glory to "the Lion of God." The order of *Moolahs* chiefly derive a subsistence from the rulers of the country by prescriptive right, through alms and hospitality of the people, and remuneration for discharging the duties of teachers to children, and in the exercise of "literary pursuits," as in book making or amanuensis. Trade and agriculture also add to their acquisitions. The *ulima* are distinguished by their dress, the most conspicuous part of which is a very large white turban. Although they are not

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invested with political rights, much weight is allowed to their opinions. They are of course, subject to circumstances, but they are in a measure governed by the cadies or judiciary, who are, in fact, the chief or head of the *ulima*. They marry and live like laymen, having a great abhorrence of monastic institutions. They effect great gravity and ostentation of learning, but do not appear intrusive. They are an intelligent class, and when the subject of religion is not introduced, agreeable companions in conversation. In consequence of their dependence upon the civil powers, they are equally obsequious with the rest of the inhabitants.

The belief in alchemy is prevalent amongst the Uzbecks, as is the fact also with all the Mahomedans, whose learning is derived from the ancient Greek through the Arabic literature. But the so-called science of alchemy is of traditional preservation, being derived from Hippocrates. The theories and philosophy of the father of medicine are subjects of familiar discussion amongst the learned Orientals.

In the practices of hospitality, so universally prevalent amongst the votaries of Islam, the Uzbecks are miserably deficient. The corrupt and baneful morals resulting from the institution of slavery seems to have poisoned or permanently closed up the natural benevolence of humanity, which is found in all primitive and unsophisticated communities. It is slavery, however, as it exists amongst the Uzbecks which more especially results in these savage influences, for amongst this people the supply of slaves is derived from the plunder of their neighbors, where men of acknowledged equal rights are forcibly made slaves by an irresistible tyranny! When their forays and depredations are confined to the frontiers of Persia or any other schismatic or heretic community, they readily excuse their actions by the alleged motive of benevolence, in the conversion and civilization of their victims! All unprotected strangers travelling in this part of Tataria would be liable to seizure and condemnation to slavery and no question asked for conscience sake, in accordance



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with the proverb that "all is salt in a mine of salt." The Uzbecks would rather sell than feast a traveller. Soofey Beg, who held the fortress and district of Derrah i Esoff, a frontier possession bordering the Hazarrah country, has been known to exchange his guests for horses with Uzbek slave dealers! Three hundred families of Meer Mohib's tribe, an Hazarrah chief of Yakaolung, seceded from his authority and placed themselves under the protection of Soofey Beg. Their numbers exciting the Beg's apprehensions, he caused them to be disarmed, upon the allegation of treasonable practices. Subsequently, many of them were disposed of like a flock of stray sheep, and were carried away by the slave traders of Mawer ul Neher. When the writer carried the fort of Derrah i Esoff by storm in the month of November, 1838, about two hundred of these unfortunate guests of Soofey Beg, whom he had not yet sold, were released from a loathsome confinement in the dry wells or dungeons of the castle and sent home to their friends.

Owing to the multiplicity of separate and independent governments, travellers are liable to be plundered when passing out of one district into another. The Kotul of Abdoo between Khoolum and Mozar is a dangerous pass where unprotected *kafilas* are exposed to the attack of mountaineers in the vicinity. The Uzbek is a merciless robber, who spares neither men, women or children. He is infamous for his cruelty, of which his southern neighbors say, "the mercy of an Uzbek is equivalent to the anger of an Avghaun!" It is customary for the travelling merchants to move in large karrovans, all being well armed against the contingency of highway robbery, provided also with such safeguards as may be derived from one chief to another. When the country is disturbed by the presence of Muraad Beg in the field, commercial intercourse is suspended until that monster of depravity shall have satisfied his rapacity and retreated to his lair at Kundooz.

On our journey into the Province of Bulkh we convoyed a karrovan to Mozar consisting of sixteen hundred camels

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and six hundred pack horses; these were accompanied by about two thousand people—men, women and children. The usually travelled road passed through Heibuck, but we diverged to the west from Doab to Derrah i Esoff, and thence pursued a northern course to Mozar. This large karrovan was made up by the concentration of many *kafilas* or small karrovans and altogether placed under our charge in a single convoy, which paid transit duties to the Ameer of Cabul amounting to fifty thousand rupees—this sum being two and a half per cent. upon the valuation of the merchandise, will represent the capital of about twenty lakhs or two million rupees. This amount may be assumed as the annual transit trade passing from India via Cabul to Bocharrah, Askabad and Moscow. The merchandise consisted of Cashmere shawls, indigo, white and printed piece goods, for the markets of Toorkistaun, Persia and Russia.

The Uzbecks are a ceremonious, sedate and dignified people, uniform in their habits of life, with the exception of those known as the *Ohel o Bye*, who constitute the pastoral class. The manners and customs of these are similar to other nomadic tribes. They live in tents such as are called *khirgahs*—a kind of domicile peculiar to Central Asia north of the Hindoo Kush. It is said to be used in Persia, but is probably derived from the same source as those used by the Uzbecks. I think it probable the northern nomadic nations invented it, as their wandering habits required the accommodation of a movable tenement combining sufficient strength to withstand the force of high winds, with facilities of packing, lightness of carriage, cheapness and durability of material. The *khirgah* possesses all these advantages and is far superior to a single-roomed house with a door opening directly to the air. The interior is equally inaccessible to the cold, and may be warmed with less fuel than a mud hut. It surpasses every other description of tent for a winter residence, may be set up quickly, struck with equal expedition, and packed into a small space. Two bullocks are sufficient for its carriage, when sufficiently large to accommodate twenty Tatars,

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affording perfect protection from the coldest and most boisterous weather of a severe climate. The covering consists of coarse felt, a material cheaply procured from the refuse of wool combings manufactured by a simple process. The little wood necessary for the framework may be procured from small trees, as willows or bushes, and the *nawar* or broad tape that forms a part of its appendages is woven of woollen or worsted twine; in the absence of this a common hair rope answers practically as well. The framework is fastened by thongs of undressed sheep, horse, deer or other skins. The frame consists of five parts, viz., first, the door posts; second, a door frame, consisting of jambs, sill and lintel, and door leaves, detached; third, wall pieces, or connaughts; fourth, the rafters; fifth, a top ring.

The door posts are simply two wooden stakes, three and a half feet long, about the thickness of a man's wrist; these are to be driven into the ground at least half a foot and distant from each other the breadth of the doorway. Their use is to make a firm fixture for setting up the door frames, or jambs. After fitting on the sill and lintel of the jambs, by means of morticed holes in them, the jambs are lashed tightly by a small piece of rope to the door posts, firmly driven into the ground. The wall pieces are about the thickness of a man's thumb and are made of sticks or small lathes four or five feet long, so fixed as to form a diagonal latticed frame and being transfixed by a thong passed through the centre of each, where a pair cross and admit of being closed together like parallel rulers or extended at considerable length; each piece of connaught being one fourth, more or less, of the circumference of the tent when pitched, according to the required size or ground to be enclosed. To set up these walls they should be extended until lowered to the usual height of four feet. The heads of two wall pieces are brought in contact, right and left, with the door jambs, and lashed there by a small rope passing round both jambs and door posts, and through the sections of the slats. The wall pieces are then carried round circularly, and other wall

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pieces are added until the enclosure or intended area is sufficiently large for the accommodation of a family, or the purpose for which the *khirgah* is intended. Four connaughts are the usual number of wall pieces required for all regularly pitched *khirgahs*. At each junction of the wall pieces a stake should be driven, precisely like the door posts. This is a necessary protection against the attack of enemies, for the Uzbek *alemani* have an ingenious method of oversetting a *khirgah*, which calls for corresponding care in fixing it together. Their custom is, when a camp is the object of attack, for two horsemen with two ends of a long rope fastened to their respective saddles, to make a rush, right and left, of the *khirgah*, and catching it in the loop of the rope, capsize the tenement and expose the nestlers under it! This misfortune would be prevented by the stakes as directed to be used. It is not possible to cut through the *khirgah* as may be done with an ordinary tent.

When the walls are adjusted they are more firmly bound together by a tape or band about four inches broad, one end being fastened to the jamb and door post of one side and the tape carried round the waist of the connaughts and fastened to the other jamb and door post. It is now necessary to fix the rafters or supports for the conical shaped top. These rafters are about eight and a half feet long and about the thickness of one's thumb, or a little thicker at the butt and gradually tapering to one end; the smallest end should be flattened above and below. Two feet and a half from the thick end, the rafter is made to curve to an angle of forty-five degrees, so that when placed in position it may stand two feet high above the connaught, with the shaft six feet long, allowing half a foot for the curve. Each pair of cross sticks of the connaughts require a rafter and affords a support for the thick end of it, where it is lashed by a piece of worsted twine. To affix these rafters the top ring must be held up by a person with a pole standing in the centre of the area of the *khirgah*. This centre ring is about four inches broad and two inches thick; it has the outside of its

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disk perforated with as many holes, slanting downwards, as there are rafters, for the purpose of receiving the small, flattened end of the rafter. The ring being elevated by an assistant, the small end of a rafter is placed in a hole of the disk and fastened at the butt upon the top of the connaught or wall. Another rafter is then placed opposite the first one, a third rafter intersects the circle of the connaught on another quarter segment and a fourth upon a quarter segment of the remaining half section. The assistant may then withdraw his support, as the four rafters will be sufficient to steady the ring. The remaining rafters must be alternately placed in their respective positions. All the frame will thus be completely set up. Those who are familiar with the operation will perform the process with facility and expedition.

All the felts being shaped into a proper form, the walls are first covered. These felts are sustained in their places by a broad band similar to the felt that has been passed around the frame wall. The top is then covered over by felts properly shaped and these are fastened down by crossing broad tape over them. A small, triangular hole will remain at the peak, which is covered when necessary by a triangular felt having a string fastened to a corner to draw it over the hole. This felt is detached and only used at night, or during boisterous weather.

The finer kinds of *khirgahs* are covered with white felts decorated with flowers, and the woodwork is painted, when the whole tenement presents an appearance of neatness and comfort full equivalent to the most substantial domicile. The ring should be strengthened by having four sticks, a little longer than the diameter, passed across it, alongside of each other close together, so as to bulge out above in the form of a curve convexly upward and these should be crossed by four other sticks transversely.

The use of the *khirgah* would enable troops to sustain the most inclement weather, without other barracks or cantonments. The four rafters over the door should have the thick end cut off about one and a half feet, so

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as to leave half a foot beyond the curve to rest upon the top of the lintel. This is necessary to give a uniform, conical shape to the roof, because the doorway is about one foot and a half higher than the connaughts.

The forest trees of the province are found in the southern districts among the mountains. They consist of pistacha, dwarf pine, and in the valleys, the willow. Not any of these are suited for building purposes. The English walnut grows to a middling size and there is also a dwarf oak. There is no timber fit for architectural uses except the willow and fir of Buddukh Shaun. This scarcity of appropriate timber caused the people of past ages to occupy caves in the mountains, and on the plains led to the peculiar system of building which characterizes the domiciles of Kandahar and other countries similarly situated in regard to wood. The houses are built of sun-dried clay and arched; a terraced roof is rarely seen distant from Kundooz. Here the cane and reeds afford a partial resource to modify the style of building, but still the general aspect of arched domiciles is prevalent. Fuel is chiefly supplied by the pistacha tree. It abounds in the southern hills and prevails from Chitraul on the east to Herat on the west. The oak and fir are coaled and used in winter to light the hand grates by which their apartments are heated.

The furniture of their houses consists simply of felts and carpets. The poor use common, coarse felts; the rich provide themselves with carpets from Herat and Dye Zungee. The first resemble the fine Persian carpets and are of the kind produced or sold in Europe called Turkey carpets. They have longer wool and possess vivid colors of various hues, handsomely wrought into flowers and other ornamental embellishments. The small *callecha* or carpet used by the Moslem to sit and kneel upon in their prayers, and appropriated by Europeans for the bedside or fire rug, are frequently highly ornamented and admirable specimens of handicraft. Those intended for the *divan* are constructed to fit the room. Along the two sides of the room two narrow felts are placed, about two or four feet wide, and at the upper end of these side

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felts a broader one is placed to cross the room. This upper felt is the seat of honor where the master of the house and his principal guests are accommodated.

Their mode of sitting, as with all Mahomedan nations, is exceedingly inconvenient to an European. Good breeding requires them to conceal the feet when in a sitting posture in the presence of a superior. They first fall upon their knees, then drop back upon their heels, the instep being straightened against the floor; the skirts of their flowing robes are carefully folded around their knees and this posture they will continue several hours without apparent inconvenience. To an European or one unused to this constrained position a few moments will cramp the joints painfully and cause a restlessness which in a native would be considered indecorous. Chiefs who have had much intercourse with Europeans are aware of this and gracefully tell such guests to sit *char shanah*—that is, to cross their legs and sit at ease. On familiar occasions they assume this posture among themselves. In public *darbar* they are formal and silent; conversation is not admissible. Their business transactions are conducted in private and by the intervention of agents. Tea is always introduced when the guests and proprietor of the house are of similar rank. Confectionaries generally accompany the tea—also dried fruits or recent, according to the season. After drinking the infusion, a servant hands you the exhausted leaves upon a small plate, and these you are expected to gorge and help yourself with your fingers! These tasteless leaves are, I believe, eaten by the Uzbecks from a feeling of natural greediness, which is violated by throwing to waste anything which can be masticated! The Chinese, whose economy in “comestibles” is not to be questioned, have never thought of eating exhausted tea leaves.

In these ceremonious interviews, both parties are accompanied by many followers, as the importance of each is increased by the number of well dressed retainers. Those of rank who accompany their chief all sit in their appropriate places, pointed out by a master of ceremonies, who carries

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a white wand. The principal visitor, on entering the presence chamber, hastily approaches the host in a bent attitude, and uttering the *usulam aliakoom*, seizes the proffered hand of the host in both his own, then seats himself on the felt—regulating his distance from the proprietor by his rank. If he is of equal rank he formally inquires, with great gravity, into the state of the host's health; should he be an inferior he must sit at a distance and wait to be spoken to. He would be considered ill-bred if a stranger, and impertinent if a native, should he open his lips without being addressed. The attendants of his household who may have accompanied the visitor stand at the lower end of the room, with their hands before their waists, folded together and hidden in the capacious sleeves of their loose robes, whilst others of higher pretensions sit along the side of the room upon the side felts; all silent and immovable!

Confectionaries are now brought in and handed round on a small China plate; they consist of sugared almonds, comfits and small pyramids of white Russian sugar. These are placed before the principal guests in trays. It would, however, be thought rude to eat them up: they are barely noticed, touched, one or two at long intervals conveyed to the mouth. The eyes of the attendants are fixed upon the countenance of their chief. Tea is now brought in upon a service of Russian China, or not infrequently upon real porcelain China, upon a japanned waiter. The cups are filled in the presence of the company. Those who use sugar, which is the finest, white Russian loaf, do not take milk, and vice versa. The tea used is the Young Hyson for the rich; the poor do not refresh in the presence of their superiors, but they may do so when retired, upon Hyson skin. The herb for them is boiled and mixed with milk, and is termed *sheertcha* or milk tea.

They have a fancy for China ware and are fastidious in the selection of it. The tea set is usually arranged in trunks, covered with light colored cotton velvet, ornamented by bands of tin fastened with tacks upon the top and sides. These boxes are made in Russia. The articles



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are placed in holes in the centre board of the box, which also has squares to receive and steady the various pieces of the service, which invariably comprises a looking glass. The box is secured by a ringing lock.

Presents are given, but not reciprocated on the spot. They are paraded before the spectators, acknowledged by the host, and delivered to the care of attendants. When an inferior is spoken to, good breeding requires that he should rise to deliver his response; then placing his hands before his waist and folded together, he delivers his reply, and immediately reseats himself. This process must be repeated after every question and is indispensable. This may probably account for their interviews passing off in silence, as the continual rising and reseating would be liable to create confusion and this would be indecorous or averse to the soberness and gravity of the national character. For a similar reason, although they are incorrigible snuff takers, they dispense with the habit during moments of formality.

When a guest retires, he does so without any preparatory or prefatory remark, without the salutation or the ceremony of a low bow. He gets up, but keeping his body slightly bent and his eyes fixed upon the host, he glides away sideways and somewhat abruptly slopes out of the presence! He first rises deliberately and then gets out of the room with rapidity and *exeunt omnes*.

The tobacco used as snuff is finely levigated, resembling the Scotch preparation. It is kept in gourds about the size of a goose egg, some larger and others smaller. These receptacles are ornamented with exquisite carving of floral designs and imported from Peshawar, where I believe the snuff is also manufactured.

The Uzbecks are an unsocial, cold hearted race, seldom uniting for amusement or parties of pleasure. They go alone or attended by a few servants upon excursions of hunting and hawking and are actuated more by the desire of procuring a meal than the excitement of coursing or the pleasure of flying their hawks. If a friend, guest or acquaintance is to be feasted, he is supplied with the

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raw materials, that he may dress it agreeably to his own fancy and gorge upon it alone and at leisure, in place of enjoying the conviviality of a social party. The complement of a feast usually consists of a sheep, flour, barley for the horses, and firewood, according to the number of his household.

They take but one substantial meal during the day. In the morning they drink tea and eat dry bread with it : in the evening they take their chief meal of *pillao*, or boiled rice and sour cheese with boiled mutton, broth with leavened bread, or lumps of roasted horse flesh. Late at night the morning meal is repeated, about the hour of retiring for rest. They take nothing throughout the day but tea, which is served at frequent intervals, to quench thirst and refresh themselves after a ride.

They are enemies to hilarity and are never heard to sing or known to encourage the practices of music or dancing. Their favorite amusements, when capable of effort, are hunting, coursing, martial exercise on horse-back with the spear, riding, and hawking. These occupations are not practised by the higher orders, who would be scandalized by the irregular habits most of them imply. Riding on horse-back is their only national amusement. Horses are so easily procured that no one walks. The prevalent habit of wearing boots disqualifies them for pedestrian exercise. They pull on their boots when they dress in the morning and keep them on through the day. Even the women wear boots. The Uzbecks are not addicted to gaming, wrestling or the gymnastic exercises so common in India and Persia. They affect severity of morals, whilst it's well known they are secretly dissolute and depraved.

The dress of the men consists of a loose pair of pantaloons, mostly of white cotton cloth of India manufacture. They wear no shirt. A vestment of grey colored silk or coarse cotton in the form of a *tchoga* or loose cloak covers the person and arms with long sleeves, and is fastened about the waist by a girdle. Another of broad cloth or *nanka*, that is, *nankeen*, mostly of a green color, is worn

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above the first, and the number is increased to three or more according to the temperature of the season. In winter those who can afford it wear *posteens*, made of lamb skins tanned into soft leather with the wool on, or other warm clothing made of furs, some of which are quite costly. The poor wear cloaks made of the common grey felt and they fasten bands of cloth around their feet and legs in place of stockings and draw their boots on over the pantaloons. The head is covered by a high peaked cap of various material, some are made of scarlet broad cloth, with a fillet of fur around the edge; over this a large white turban is wound; the end of the turban first placed on the head is allowed to hang down the side of the neck nearly to the left shoulder. The turban is in some measure placed awry and drawn over the right brow, which gives a characteristic appearance of crooked necks to the whole people. The boots of the rich called *mansee* are commonly made of Morocco or Russia leather and resemble stockings, being made without soles and wrinkling over the instep. These *mansee* are not drawn off when entering the *divan* or stepping upon a carpet, but the shoes invariably worn over them are removed on those occasions. The writer purchased a pair of these *mansee* from a Jew in the city of Bulkh for ten rupees. They were manufactured in Russia of thin shagreen leather.

The dress of the women is the same as that of the men except the turban. In place of this they cover their heads with a black silk handkerchief, wear the hair parted on the top of the head and hanging down behind in long plaited tresses. They wear no ornaments. When they go out on foot, which is seldom the case, they wear a large white sheet of dimensions sufficient to cover the whole person. This sheet is thrown over the head and descends to their feet. A veil is suspended before the face, being fastened behind the head with hooks. A small space of open work is left before the eyes, through which they are enabled to see without exposing any portion of the face. The women when travelling are conveyed in *cudjawas*, or litters, upon camels, horses or mules. These litters are

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panniers slung across the animal which carries them. They are covered over with white or scarlet cloth either of cotton or broad cloth, as may be appropriate to the rank and taste of the traveller. A vehicle resembling a covered chair with shafts like a sedan is also used. This will be carried by two small horses, one being before, between the shafts, and the other in the rear, also between shafts, with its head towards the chair.

The men ride upon horses and are fond of a rough trotter. They generally go at this gait and say the exercise of hard trotting twenty or thirty miles before breakfast tends to promote an appetite for the meal! The horse furniture is neat and light. A head stall, ornamented at the joinings with gold, silver or plated buckles and studs or feroze stones set in silver. The reins, light and narrow, made of brown leather. Standing martingales are loosely worn, fastened to a plaited hair noose passed over the horse's nose. They have also breast bands to correspond with the head stalls and cruppers; these are two very necessary appendages to keep the saddle in position when riding over a hilly country. The saddle is made of a single piece of wood, somewhat larger than our saddle tree, with a high peak, and elevated a little behind. The pommel is divided and reflected in the form of two convolutions. After putting on a sweating cloth, the back of the horse is protected by a thick cushion of felt made of many layers, sewn together one upon another. Upon this the wooden tree is placed and fastened in its place by a belt attached to the tree and another belt passing over the back of it. The stirrups resemble the English, though they are not so thick. They use housings extensive enough to cover up the horse's body from the fore part of the saddle to the croup, falling as low as the flank. These are made of worsted silk or gold brocade, and velvet, green, yellow and scarlet, decorated with gold embroidery.

Despatches are sent by mounted carriers by government when necessary; but the people depend on private conveyance for communicating with distant places. There is also a confidential means of communication with distant

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countries through the channel of bankers and money dealers, who forward their exchanges and letters of business by established conveyances, a knowledge of which is confined to their own class. There are no regularly established government posts.

Slavery exists amongst the Uzbecks in a barbarous form, and the cruel nature of this people add to the horrors of the inhuman traffic. Slaves are badly treated, and being for the most part recent captives, they strive continuously to recover the freedom of which they have been despoiled. They are sometimes smuggled out of the country, but the usual method of recovering their liberty is by ransom. Every slave is entitled to purchase his freedom. This privilege cannot be denied if he can find a friend to assert his claim. But this provision is a dead letter in a community where the slave has not yet found an advocate in disinterested philanthropy. The house born or hereditary slaves are not so numerous as those of recent captivity. The markets of Bulkh and of Mawer ul Neher are chiefly supplied from the mountain districts in the south of the province and bordering countries. Muraad Beg is the great wholesale dealer in this unholy merchandise. His method of furnishing slaves to minor adventures has already been mentioned. Before his late treaty with the Ameer of Cabul, the valleys of Kamerd and Sykaun and the Hazarrahjaut'h sent many of their people to the exchequer of Kundooz, in lieu of sheep, grain, or other produce! Their taxes were appraised at a specified number of slaves, and by this system they were obliged to war with and plunder their neighbors for the purpose of procuring subjects. Unprotected travellers were frequently seized and sent to Kundooz to pay the estimated revenue of Sykaun and Kamerd. No person, in fact, could travel through these districts without the protection of the karrovan. The Hazarrah chiefs willingly disposed of their people to the Uzbek and also sold the prisoners seized from each other in their territorial feuds. They received in exchange piece goods packed in bales for this trade in India, and horses brought

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by the Uzbecks from distant parts of Tatory. The Hazarrahs are specially valued for their physical strength. They are athletic, robust and powerful, but generally undersized. These are the hewers of wood and drawers of water of the indolent scoundrel of an Uzbek. The number annually sold from these southern districts is several thousands. The revenues of Kamerd and Sykaun were rated at one slave for every third family.

Chitraul on the south east was another fruitful source for the slave dealers. Shah Kittore, the chief of that district, has sold off whole streets of his subjects. On these occasions the victims were accustomed to wait on their oppressor and take leave of him before setting off upon their journey. When sold in a body, being friends and connections, they left their homes without much apparent regret; they were ignorant of the fate which awaited them. Their wretchedness would become realized when parents were torn from their children, the bonds of natural affection severed between members of the same family and their sisters and daughters and brothers be devoted to heartless taskmasters and abandoned to the vile depravity of beastly sensualists! The natives of Chitraul, who inhabit the higher altitudes of a mountainous region, are of fair complexion and remarkable for their delicate forms. The females are said to be unsurpassed by the Circassian beauties, who inhabit the western extremity of the same mountain range. They are highly estimated for the symmetry of their forms and remarkable personal beauty. They sell for a higher price than any other slaves; eighty pieces of gold are not thought to be too large a sum for "a handsome Chitraulee"—this is about five hundred and sixty rupees. A Buddukh Shaunee may be purchased for fifteen to forty pieces of gold. These are mostly employed in responsible situations about their master's establishment; being natives of a nearer locality, there is not so much difficulty in tracing and apprehending them when they abscond, as is sometimes attempted.

The Kaffres, whose country adjoins Chitraul, also supply slaves to the Uzbecks, and they are classed with the natives

of Chitraul by the dealers. A merchant who wishes to purchase slaves in Chitraul establishes himself in the city, opens a temporary shop for the exhibition of his merchandise, and receives from the relations of the victims their connections, whom they bring for sale! The chief levies a high tax upon "the property!" He also avails himself of the trade to rid the country of all refractory subjects, while parents willingly sell off all the troublesome, useless and unworthy scions of the family stock. In fact, the Uzbecks become the jailors of these communities, who are thus annually cleansed of the thieves, murderers, and other criminals, whom more civilized communities are accustomed to shut up in penitentiaries at an enormous expense in taxation to the virtuous members of the state!

Herat is also another resort of slave dealers, but the trade is carried on secretly and it is, therefore, not so prolific in its supply. It is rather by kidnapping and under furtive measures that the insatiable slave driver is enabled to accomplish his purpose! Nevertheless, thousands of slaves are passed from and through Herat to the Uzbek states. The schismatic *Sheah* is usually the victim here and it is hence and from the border of Persia that the *Kizzelbash* slaves of Mawer ul Neher are derived. From this stock the *Moonshees* or writers are made. Families of the *Kizzelbash* secretaries have been invited as neighbors by the females of some powerful Khan, or scion of royalty, to assist at a domestic quilting, or to form a party of pleasure, when the whole of them were handed over to the kidnappers in waiting to receive them!

The inhabitants of Meshed are stolen away by the subjects of the Khan of Khiva, who also plunders the Russians upon the northern frontier. These practices of the Khiva Khan were the cause of a military demonstration on the part of Russia against that petty Uzbek state. The Chinese, who border on the north east of Uzbek Tatar, are not exempt from the common fate of all nations whose frontiers approach these people! The natives of China are also seen in a state of slavery in Toorkistaun.

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These are the resources of the Uzbek slave dealers, whence it will appear how extensive the commerce is. The moral habits of the Tatars and the scarcity of population are amongst the causes that make slave labor essential to the comfort and pleasure of the Uzbek, and their wealth and predatory habits supply the means of indulging the national tastes. The Koran justifies enslaving idolaters taken in war ; but the Uzbek seeks for no other argument than his ability to perform. All who are unprotected and many who are temporarily removed from their resources are liable to be enslaved. Slaves are allowed a period of leisure during which they are at liberty to labor for their personal benefit. With industrious habits, well applied, they may, by persevering exertions, obtain the amount of their price, and in case of old age or physical imperfection will be allowed to purchase their freedom. It has sometimes occurred at Bocharrah, that conscientious Avghauns, a people who abhor the system of slavery as applied to free men, on being appealed to by slaves illegally held in bondage, have brought their cases before the civil judge and effected the liberation of their clients !

The Uzbeks are robust, stronger and taller than other natives of Central Asia. They have high, expanded, full foreheads, long faces and regular features and high cheek bones. They have large black eyes, with a lascivious expression. The external angle of the eye is invariably a little elevated. The hair is black, the beard frequently sparse and allowed to grow untrimmed. The moustaches are clipped in the middle and the head is shorn. This cutting away of the moustache is characteristic of the orthodox Moslem, in contradistinction of the schismatic, who allows the moustache to grow uncut. Their complexion is a light brown or Brunette, with a healthy color pervading the cheeks. They are formal and dignified in manner, with a manly expression of countenance. The address of those who live in cities is ceremonious and polite, apparently frank. They are exquisite dissimulators and liars. The peasantry are rustic and stupid. They are all obsequious to their superiors and generally overbearing to their inferiors and



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they are all great venerators of wealth and power. They have rather a polished manner, not unmixed with impudence, and to modesty of deportment they are strangers. They are quiet and obedient and have few quarrels ; timorous, crafty, ignorant, and bigoted, neither seeking or appreciating knowledge. The agricultural class is a hardy race and endures much from the climate. They are all rapacious and parsimonious, covetously hoarding their treasures, and are enemies of display. Selfishness is a prominent and undisguised feature of their character and they have a self-applauding contempt for all foreigners. Pauperism does not exist amongst them. Anyone who attempted to subsist by the luxury of mendicity would be kidnapped by the slave dealers, unless incapacitated by blindness. Even an individual laboring under this defect, if otherwise whole and sound, would not, however, be altogether useless as revenue, as an individual of such character could gain a subsistence by *watching* a house !

Polygamy is allowed by the Mahomedan law, but after marrying one wife, the Uzbecks addict themselves to concubinage amongst their slaves, and to other practices less conducive to the increase of population. Their women are shut up and kept out of view with jealous solicitude : a female rarely appears beyond the pale of the domicile and never takes any part with the men in their outdoor labors or amusements. There are no professional females of degraded character amongst the Uzbecks. Their funeral ceremonies are the same as in all Mahomedan communities.



MAHARAJAH RANJIT SINGH



## PART II

### THE MILITARY TOPOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN: ITINERARY OF THE AFGHAN EXPEDITION OF 1838-1839

. . . indifferent bridges affording a narrow footing at the fords for horsemen and pedestrians to pass over singly.<sup>1</sup> There are no boats. The breadth of the river is twenty-five yards generally, but over the western fords it is forty yards over. The inhabited places, commencing in the west, are, first, Hadjes, a considerable village with a fort surrounded by the river ; this is a chief's town. Second, Ballaibagh and Killa i Rehmud Khan. The former is the name of a district. At the latter place there are two forts, between which the river runs. Third, Parqeni Bagh and Bajegah. The latter name is properly the designation of a narrow straight, and forms the outlet north of Kamerd ; before the south entrance of this passage there is a fortress serving as an effective defence to the gorge. Fourth, Dusht i Suffeid, situated at the east end of the valley, defended by a fort. Between the second and third positions, as the name indicates, there is a garden or orchard of apricot trees, many of which are of very large dimensions, approaching the size of a middling white oak or a pear tree of the largest kind. This orchard extends all the way between the two positions abovementioned, the course being the south side of the orchard. Here there is a grist mill, and also many grape vines ranging over the high and heavy limbs of the apricot trees. . . . The valley is larger and more productive than Sykaun. It has but little foreign commerce ; the Hazarrahs of Dye Zungee

<sup>1</sup> The first twenty-two pages of this section of the manuscript, in Harlan's handwriting, have been destroyed ; persistent search for a duplicate manuscript has been unavailing. The title of this section has been supplied in part by the editor.

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exchange their *ghee*<sup>1</sup> and woollen cloths for wheat, fruit, and oil of the apricot kernel. The whole tract is well cultivated and highly fertile in cereals and assafoetida is also produced in the mountains near. The drug is the inspissated juice of a reed-like plant, its substance being similar to the cabbage stalk. The plant is perennial and grows upon the Dundan Shukun and neighboring hills. Several hundred *maunds*<sup>2</sup> are exported annually by the karrovans going to India and Toorkistaun. It is chiefly exported to India and they supply the cities lying on the routes. The natives use it as an edible when in the state of sprouts; when boiled it is said to be sufficiently palatable, at least to the Tatar taste. Flax is also grown here. All kinds of necessities are abundant.

The road continues through the defile of Bajegah and debouches into a plain enclosed and interspersed with hills. The defile at its entrance from the south is about forty yards wide; the whole length of it is one mile; in the middle it is 100 yards over and there it is about by the perpendicular walls of two rocky heights whose faces correspond with each other exactly in elevation, shape and surface, imparting the idea of a mountain cleft in twain. One hundred yards above the plain on the west knob there are several caves in the disintegrated earth of the mountain. The natives have a tradition that the wonder-working Ali performed the feat of cutting the mountain in two by miraculous agency and then gave egress to the waters which they assert once occupied the northern plain.<sup>3</sup> This opinion of an ancient lake is corroborated by the fact that no other outlet can be found for the drainage of the country except through this defile and it appears to have been made by some great convulsion.

A small stream flowing from the plain passes through the

<sup>1</sup> *Ghee* is clarified butter.—J.H.

<sup>2</sup> The *maund* is a unit of measurement used in many parts of Asia, varying in content according to the usages of the locality. It is impossible to say which variety of *maund* Harlan had in mind. The variation, for example, between the *maund* of Afghanistan and India is considerable, and Harlan could have been using either unit.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sheahs* ascribe innumerable miracles to the hand of Ali, who was adopted son, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed.

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defile to the Kamerd river. The road continues north by east over firm, aluminous soil to another narrow defile, passing on to the foot of the mountain in a northern direction, ascending thus to the summit of the pass which from the name of the mountain is called the Karra Kotul or Black Pass. On the northern face the road descends tortuously, following the ridges of the mountains, ravines, and ends on the adjoining plateau into a marshy basin; it is continued around the north side of the marsh running east one *coss*, then abruptly ascending a high spur from the Karra Kotul, is continued northerly one *coss* to the top of the height whence by a long slope of four *coss* it terminates in the Doab. This plain is distant from Bajegah fifteen *coss*. . . . The second defile on the first part of the road is formed by a perpendicular section of a mountain which section is similar to the Bajegah defile. This defile is extremely rugged. In the former the strata are at an angle of thirty-five degrees; but the overhanging rocks of the second defile are characterized by perpendicular strata; the road here is extremely difficult, ascending over a height obstructed by numerous rocks and large stones, following close along the edge of a ravine. One of the horse artillery guns, through mismanagement, plunged over this precipice, rolled over several times, striking the bottom with a surge that broke the iron axle. It was expeditiously remounted by a supernumerary spindle.

Leaving the second defile the road ascends until it reaches the foot of the Karra Kotul. The south face of the ascent is covered with shale and rocks. The dribbling of water down the face of the mountain from springs rising near its summit saturated the loose clayey soil and this being worked into mud by the passage of animals, ultimately became extremely difficult and dangerous for the camels and other baggage cattle. The steepness of the acclivity made the ascent perilous even for single horsemen. The road from the top of the pass is over hilltops covered with earth. The descent is long and gradual. This pass of the Karra Kotul is the last approaching Toorkistaun from Cabul, and now forms the barrier of political jurisdiction between those countries.

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The valley of Sykaun was, before this invasion by the Avghauns, the frontier of Toorkistaun. By the treaty of peace which we made with Muraad Beg the barrier was removed from Sykaun to the Karra Kotul.

From Hadjes a road goes to Derrah i Esoff in a direction N.N.W., practicable for cavalry. Also another north west to Bulkh-ab-balla. This is also extremely rugged but practicable for horsemen. There is a road from Hadjes to Yakao-lung but extremely difficult, tending S.S.W. From Doab to Rooley the road lies north west through an open hill country for the distance of seven *coss*, when it is again interrupted by a sterile mountainous tract covered with soil. This tract is crossed in a northern direction from five *coss* to the valley of Rooley; the road then takes an eastern course for three *coss*, passing through two gorges. From the latter gorge it curves to the north. At the west gorge there is a deposit, quite considerable in extent, of flint stone, which material is also common at Bulkh. The flint is imbedded in and near the base of the southern hills. From Doab to Rooley the country is unproductive and little cultivated. At Doab grain is scarce. Forage and fuel abundant. A stream courses the valley in the direction of the road. The valley is defended by three forts. The distance from the last halting place is fifteen *coss*. Rooley is six *coss* in length, lying north-east and south-west, and about one *coss* across at the widest part. There is much productive arable land and the soil is cultivated in several patches, the surface being chiefly covered with a spontaneous growth of luxuriant grass. The population of the valley is confined to the north-east extremity. Many villages are found in the neighboring hills.

The Khoolum river rises in this vicinity and passes to the north through a gorge flowing toward the Oxus, but is lost near Khoolum in the sands; it passes in its course, Sir i Bagh, Heibuck, and Tash Khoorghaun. The grain produced is scarcely sufficient for the home demand, and the karrovans which travel to and from Tatary by this highway. The fuel consists of fir and pistacha wood brought from the hills. The forage is of hay, is plentiful. There are three or four

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mills on the river and the place is defended by a fort near the inhabited portion of the valley not far from the gorge. A highway to Ghoree parts hence north-east. The direct road to the plain of the Oxus is continued north through the gorge in the bed of the river ; it is tortuous and confined in many places by the approximation of the mountains. The river is travelled through for many yards in some places and it is crossed by the wayfarer before reaching Sir i Bagh sixty times. The stream is quite a shallow rivulet, but forms a serious impediment to travellers and karrovans in the cold season. It is a good gun route except in winter. At this period the guns should be dragged over the mountains by a passage north-east, lying east of Sir i Bagh and debouching at Heibuck ; it leads over the ridges of the mountainous tract between the Khoolum river and the valley of Ghoree, being at no place more than four or five *coss* distant from the former. It passes over a clay soil and is the route that guns followed returning from the expedition against Kundooz in the month of March, 1839.

On the way to Bulkh from Cabul the army marched by a route which struck off west from Rooley and led to Killa i Derrah i Esoff. The road passes over the summits of low hills to " Char Chushma " or Four Springs. Water on the route was scarce. The distance is ten *coss* and the country uninhabited. Forage of mountain grass and fuel of fir and thorns. There is a more direct road from the centre of Rooley valley to Derrah i Esoff for cavalry, but it is not practicable for guns. The next march is to Char Ouliah, distant fifteen *coss*. It lies through a stony valley in many places barely wide enough for the passage of a gun carriage. It is overtopped by high hills covered with earth, but the rocky base of these hills is in many places exposed to view in the defile. There is no water near the route. It is only procurable at a distance in the neighboring hills from scanty springs. Nine *coss* from Char Chushma the road is impeded by an ascent of the rocky face of a hill rising out of a small cultivated space ; but it soon descends again into a valley which gradually expands to Char Ouliah. Six *coss* from Char Chushma an intricate passage occurs, impeded



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by large blocks of stone over which it was necessary in three instances to lift the guns by manual force. There is a gorge also in the way where a carriage became jammed. The wheels of the carriage were removed before the gun could be extricated. The piece being dismounted, was dragged through the gorge by the men and then expeditiously remounted, as we were near the enemy. The direct route to Tash Khoorghaun, via Sir i Bagh and Heibuck, is a much better gun road ; but our object was to enter the plain of the Oxus by this lateral access through Derrah i Esoff.

From Char Ouliah to Derrah i Esoff or Derrah i Soof is four *coss* north-west. A stream runs through the vale in a direction with the road. The hills are low, the country more open, covered with soil and in season with verdure. Fir trees abound in the surrounding mountains at a distance. The red willows also grow on the bank of the river. The road crosses a mountain of aluminous earth descending under the advanced works of Derrah i Esoff. The guns were crossed two *coss* farther north to turn the position of the fort of that name. From Char Chusma to Derrah i Esoff the country is covered with verdure when in season and affords extensive pastoral resources to the migratory tribes of Toorkistaun belonging to the Khoolum chief. When we passed the place early in December, 1838, it was deserted, but there was evidence in the fallow land and the graves of the dead of a popular resort at some previous date. The burial place was extensive and indicated a numerous living source. The class of nomads consists of many thousands. In the course of two marches from Char Chushma to Derrah i Esoff, grain is not procurable. Forage and fuel are plentiful. Near the entrance of the defile commencing at Char Chushma a large natural cave exists and the shelving of the mountains near their base affords protection for the shepherd tribes resorting to the vicinity.

From the fort of Derrah i Esoff, which lies at the head or southern end of the valley of that name, the road goes directly north to a gorge, three *coss* ; thence to Ish Kale Beg, fifteen *coss* ; to Booenee Karra, twelve *coss* ; to the bank of the river Derrah i Esoff, seven *coss* ; to Derrah i

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Guz, six *coss*—thence north by east to Mozar, seven *coss*. North by west from the debouche of Derrah i Guz, which opens upon the plain of the Oxus, the city of Bulkh is to be described distant five *coss*. From Derrah i Esoff to Booenee Karra the distance is thirty *coss*. The river Derrah i Esoff pursues a northern course; its banks are covered with a high and dense jungle of reeds and coarse grass. A little beyond the point where we struck the river as above-mentioned, it is joined by the . . . river of Bulkh—coming from the S.S.W. The united stream then flows to the north, passing through Derrah i Guz, and disemboguing at the northern end of the gorge of that name, it reaches the city of Bulkh and the Zearit of Mozar. In the palmy days of this country the stream was divided into eighteen canals which disbursed the water over the surface for purposes of irrigation. These aqueducts are now nearly all destroyed. One canal supplies Mozar and four or five others are used for irrigation of land belonging to the city of Bulkh, in the vicinity of which the surplus water of the river has settled, forming marshes and filling the ditch of the fort. The river is 100 yards broad after receiving all its tributaries, it has a strong current and is several feet deep. It is probably navigable up to Derrah i Guz, and possibly a short distance beyond the junction of the river of Derrah i Esoff by the Bulkh ab branch. Its principal source, excepting the Derrah i Esoff branch, are supplies by the lake of Bund i Ameer from the drainage of Dye Zungee and the country in that vicinity.

From Derrah i Esoff to Ish Kale Beg the defile narrows, the course of the river is tortuous and the road crosses a small branch of the stream running along the dell, no less than eighty times, in the course of the distance! Half way the army turned off to the east, making a short detour, for local facilities, a distance of three *coss*. The road passed over several hills, frequently of steep approach and abrupt descent, covered with aluminous earth, winding around to its northern inclination. Both roads debouch near each other at the foot of Ish Kale Beg. At this place the valley expands into an oval plain two *coss* across and three *coss* in length.

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W.S.W. of the valley there is a sacred shrine called the tomb of the "Prophet David." The valley, gradually narrowing, forms a contracted gorge south of Derrah i Guz, passing through which it again expands, the hills lessen in height and cease by a rolling outline in the bottom of a ravine, the north boundary of which intercepts the view beyond. Surmounting this elevation the plain of the Oxus breaks upon the eye. This vast plateau or steppe gently declines toward the ancient city of Bulkh and Zearit of Mozar. The valley of Derrah i Esoff is bounded on the west by the great lateral north branch of Kok i Baba. There are many caves in the mountains between the gorge and Killa Ish Kale Beg : they consist of a suite of rooms of various dimensions. The walls and top of these rooms have been decorated with paintings, which are now indistinctly and partially visible, consisting of designs that represent flowers and animals. The embellishments are apparently antique and probably of Hindoo origin, judging from the fact that the Koran forbids the representation of animals in painting or sculpture.

The inhabitants of the vale occupy walled villages built of sundried mud. One village near the gorge was constructed of *khirgahs*. This was rather a camp of nomadic shepherds of the pastoral class whose habits are migratory but not vagrant. The former consist of communities governed by municipal laws and occupy lands for grazing their stock in hereditary tenure and are different from those who subsist by a precarious wandering life characterized by gypsy habits. The whole country is productive and well cultivated, but the land generally is intractable, being however, quite fertile in the vicinity of Killa Ish Kale Beg and Booene Karra. The district of Derra i Esoff, which includes the country from the northern debouche of Derra i Guz to the fort at the south end of the valley called Killa Soof, furnishes a contingent of seven hundred cavalry, it being estimated at that force in *jaghire* or knight's tenure. Supplies are abundant throughout. The fuel is of pistacha wood. Forage of *boosa* and mountain hay. Roads branch off from Derrah i Esoff, Booene Karra and Derrah i Guz to Bulkh-ab-paqen or lower Bulkh ab. Bulkh-ab-balla or

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upper Bulkh ab, is situated in the southern mountain range near Dye Zungee and is the most rugged and difficult part of the Paropamisus ; being practicable only for horses, mules and asses. Bullocks and camels may pass unloaded.

After a halt of several days at Mozar the army moved to Tash Khoorhaun, distant east twenty *coss*. The road crossed the pass of Abdoo via Koosh Robat, distant thirteen *coss* from Mozar. Having accomplished the object of our invasion of Muraad Beg's estates, we retrograded toward Cabul by the direct route. Tash Khoorhaun is situated near the debouche of the direct northern route to Toorkistaun from Cabul. The place is well fortified. It is the capital of Khoolum and the residence of the Prince Meer i Wullee. . . . In the first week of March, 1839, we marched towards Cabul, passing southerly through Ghizneeguck, Heibuck, Sir i Bagh, Khoorum, Rooey, Doab, Kamerd, Sykaun, Quttar Soomb, Bameean to Irak, halting for the night at each of the abovementioned places. At Heibuck the artillery diverged from the direct route and rejoined the force between Sir i Bagh and Khoorum. They were taken around the mountains on the east of Sir i Bagh, which was a more practicable route for the guns but ten *coss* farther.

Upon the whole route there was a deficiency of forage and grain, as we had consumed almost everything in the nature of supplies in the advance journey. Each chief carried a sufficiency of grain and flour for a scanty resource to Quttar Soomb. Here there was a small deposit of flour sent forward from Bameean. For forage the withered grass of the preceding year, now buried in the snow was got at by much labor, but it proved inadequate for the meagre subsistence of our horses and cattle. A great many horses, camels and bullocks died from fatigue and starvation ! The men of my force seldom had more than a single daily meal : they not infrequently fasted every other day when the accidental supply of flesh from the animals which died failed them. As the population became more numerous on our approach to Bameean, forage was procured with increased difficulty. The natives had not sufficient for the subsistence of their cattle until spring. They buried their grain and hid their hay

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in ravines and we were obliged to force these necessities from them by revolting cruelties in a few instances. The cry was "thou shalt want ere I want" and the maxim was carried out with robber-like ferocity. These remarks refer entirely to the irregular troops of our force. The men under my immediate charge were better provided for by a scanty supply of flour and grain such as our restricted carriage cattle, overburdened as they were, could convey.

Five *coss* south of the Irak gorge the road turns easterly and continues to the foot of the Sibber pass, distant four *coss*. The ascent is steep and passes through a narrow defile bounded on each side by lofty mountains of naked rocks. It is obstructed by ledges of rocks and winds abruptly over a rugged path flanked by deep craggy precipices. Except the north face of the Kharzar pass, this of Sibber is the most difficult of any place on the route for a train of artillery. The season of the year constrained us to pass by this route—the other was closed by snow. The ascent over the Sibber pass is gradual, and an aluminous soil, until near its summit. There the acclivity becomes steep and similar to the south face of the pass of Ak Robat. The distance is three *coss* from the foot of the mountain to the top of the pass. The descent into the valley of Sheikh Ali is five *coss*, and the declivity still more steep and precipitous. There are several forts in the district of Sibber. The people, who are Hazar-rah's of the Ghoree tribe, live in continual trepidation from the predatory habits of the man-stealing Uzbecks. The cultivation is confined to the vicinity of their defences; the produce is scanty and scarcely sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. The route is not travelled by karrovans and supplies of all kinds, including forage, are scarce. The fuel is thorns and *chelma*.<sup>1</sup> Water on the pass is from springs.

The Ghorebund (properly Gholebund) river penetrates and disembogues through a ravine into the Sheikh Ali valley. This ravine is rather a gorge bounded by perpendicular walls separated from each other a few feet—not

<sup>1</sup> *Chelma* is dried manure, a product that is used in many parts of the world for fuel. In Central Asia the *chelma* commonly used is sheep dung.

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exceeding ten feet at its widest part at the exit of the river. In some places the walls of the gorge are about three or four feet apart. The distance to Sheikh Ali valley is eight *coss* south-easterly from the top of the pass. The vale lies about east and west after passing two *coss* from the eastern foot of the road crossing over the Sibber mountain. The route continues east by south to the middle of the valley, eight *coss*; east six *coss*; and east by south to Fingall, three *coss*. The mountains on each side are covered with soil and they diminish in altitude until they assume the appearance of a hilly country enclosed by distant lofty ridges of black rocks. In the month of March the whole country was covered with snow down to the middle of the valley, where it thawed before noon.

We crossed the pass on the twenty-seventh of March, 1839, returning to Cabul from Toorkistaun in the midst of a violent storm of snow. Those who halted within four *coss* of Sibber at the upper end of Sheikh Ali had their tents nearly covered by the snow; it fell without intermission in dense flakes, two nights and three days. During the height of the storm the guns were dragged over the pass by the soldiers of the regiment and they performed the labor suffering from hunger and fatigue, without fuel and without other food than a scanty supply of dry flour and a few grains of wheat and barley! Unparched. Three men, two Hindoos and one Moslem, natives of Cabul, were frozen to death upon the pass. Snowdrifts of an inconceivable depth filled up the ravines. A horse which slipped from the beaten track, plunged into a ravine and disappeared, leaving a mused spot upon the surface that marked the place of his descent—his rider threw himself off upon the pathway! In many places the declivity was so great as to oblige the dismounted horses led by their owners to slide a distance of two hundred feet. I kept my footing by means of the high iron shod heels of my Uzbek boots, thrusting them into the beaten snow at every step. My horse placed his fore feet together and slid along, ploughing up the snow and the mud of a loose soil. Our eyes were all inflamed by the reflection from the

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snow to a painful degree, being as the natives expressed the feeling, *az beriff sokh to shud*, or, burnt by the snow ! Opium moistened with water and dropped between the lids relieved the eyes from pain in one hour and they were entirely recovered in the space of six hours.

From Fingall to Chardeh, distant four *coss*, the course east by south. The widest part of the valley of Sheikh Ali is half a mile. The Ghorebund river crosses the valley through its middle, east by south. There are many villages, each protected by a fort, inhabited by the Ghoree tribe of Hazarrahs. Almost every fort is in the possession of an independent chief. They unite to repel foreign aggression when resistance is likely to be effectual ; otherwise they flee to the mountains, carrying off their flocks and burying their grain. When the temporary storm sweeps by they again return, not much the worse. The chiefs are divided by separate interests and acknowledge no common authority. These chiefs are individually influenced by the race of *Syeds* and the sanctified professors of their sect ; but they pay no tax or revenue. The people are subject to their chiefs, who under the title of "sooltaun," rule with despotic sway. The soil is intractable, although well cultivated. It produces wheat, barley, legumes and trefoil in abundance, and the people derive a great part of their subsistence from pastoral resources. The valley of Toorkoman Hazarrah branches off from Sheikh Ali in a direction west by south towards Kharzar, from which it is separated by a high mountain at its western extremity, the roads over which are only practicable for horses. The valley is watered by rills from the dells, which collect into small streams ultimately discharged into the Ghorebundriver.

At Fingall or Finjan there is a remarkable cave, famous in Sanskrit history. Colonel Wilford fixes at this place the locality named "the cave of Prometheus !" The name of an adjoining district may favor the theory. This district, which is a continuation of the Sheikh Ali valley, is called by the natives "Gholebund," and this name being translated, signifies literally "Spirits' Prison." It may derive its name from the lofty and impassable heights of the enclosing

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mountains. The most conspicuous of these is, on the north, the peak of Hindoo Kush, which towers high over the cave of "Prometheus!" The district is bounded on the south by the Gholebund mountains, consisting of a single ridge whose summit is clothed in perpetual snow. This ridge is a continuation of the Lockman range. The northern face presented to the valley of Gholebund is a craggy front of naked rocks of mural aspect; a path winds obliquely towards the top of the range, over which it passes by a gradual descent on its southern face into the valley of Istaliff. This road is a deer path practicable only for pedestrians! It is a shorter route to Cabul than the Gholebund valley. This valley, commencing at Chardeh, extends sixteen *coss* east by south to the pass of Gholebund; thence south west to Charragah, four *coss*, debouching there upon the Koh Damun. Eight *coss* west of this is Karrabagh, and twelve *coss* south west lies Cabul.

At the southern extremity of the valley it terminates by an elbow turning south and the road passes through a narrow defile, debouching upon the plain of Charragah. The widest part of this valley does not exceed half a *coss* of level land, though the mountains, which are skirted by hills, are three *coss* apart. The river Gholebund follows the direction of the valley and is joined after its egress by the river Panjshare flowing from the north east. The united stream flows south by east and empties into the Cabul river, passing in its course Nigrow and Tugaon, in the hilly district near Barik ab. The valley of Gholebund is well cultivated and productive. It contains extensive gardens of almond trees, which supply the market of Cabul with that fruit, which is also largely exported to India. It has also grapes, English walnuts and apricots in profusion. Wheat, barley, legumes and trefoil are abundant. The fuel is chiefly thorns; forage, *boosa*, mountain hay and trefoil. The valley is populous and well defended by the position of its forts. The road through Gholebund is scarcely practicable for artillery. Our small guns were laden upon camels—the two battering pieces were abandoned to the care of the natives, who effected their transit after five days of hard



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labor and the loss of many lives! One hundred men attempting to drag one of the pieces across the river were all swept away by the rushing current and three only escaped drowning! The river is repeatedly crossed by the route and the water about the thirty-first of March, was up to the saddle girths. There is a nearer route to Charragah across the Kotul of that name, but it is the worst of all the passes I have seen between Cabul and Bulkh! Eight or ten horses died in their efforts to surmount it; debilitated as they were by a winter journey across the Paropamisus in the course of which they fasted as often as they fed.

From Charragah to Cabul the distance is eighteen *coss* across the plain called Koh Damun and six over the low mountain separating that district from the Cabul valley. This plain is very fertile, highly cultivated by irrigation and prolific in all sorts of fruits and grain that grow in a temperate climate. This itinerary opens at the pass of Oonai; and it may be necessary to remark that the country from Cabul to the foot of that pass has no impediments for the passage of artillery and lies through a fertile and well cultivated district. The road through Sheikh Ali and Gholebund is passable all the year and this is the only route which continues without obstruction from snow from Cabul to Toorkistaun. The Kharzar pass over Koh i Baba closes in March. In April, when the sun is sufficiently powerful to thaw the surface, the snow is melted superficially through the day, and freezing at night into a firm mass, the traveller is enabled to move with loaded beasts, free from danger. A powerful guard on a strongly provided karrovan only can pass by this route, owing to the divided condition of the people and their predatory habits. This melting process commences about the twentieth of April. After the first of May the snow rapidly disappears up to the line of its perpetual duration. Pedestrians may cross the pass at Kharzar at any period of winter, even over deep snowdrifts, with the assistance of snow shoes. The passage in that way is sometimes attempted by natives for the purpose of carrying government despatches—but it is not free from danger, owing to severe cold and fresh snowdrifts.

## PART III

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES AND MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS ON THE PAROPAMISUS; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE IN- HABITING THAT REGION OF CENTRAL ASIA

**I**n the month of September, 1838, a belligerent expedition was ordered by the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, Prince of Cabul, against his Tatar neighbor, Meer Muraad Beg, Prince of Kundooz. The author of the following pages at that period commanded the regular troops of the Cabul army, in addition to his staff appointments and other engagements. He was instructed by the Cabul Prince to proceed with a division of the Cabul army as general of the staff of Akram Khan, one of Dost Mahomed's sons, who was the commander-in-chief of the expedition. The author also acted as councillor and aide-de-camp to the young chief, a lad about eighteen years of age. This young chief was also accompanied by Nibe Ameer, late governor of Cabul; and secretary of state, Mirza Abdul Semmee Khan; the latter in a civil capacity and bearer of the Ameer's seal or signet. The force of the division consisted of the details stated below, viz. :

1,400 cavalry; 1,100 effective infantry; and 100 artillery; total of fighting men, 2,600; camp followers, 1,000; grand total, 3,600 men; horses, 2,000; camels, 400; elephant, one.<sup>1</sup> It is in reference to the above force, together with other details mentioned hereafter, that the supplies stated in the "Itinerary" are noted as being abundant or otherwise.

<sup>1</sup> This animal was sent back to Cabul from Bameean, in consequence of the cold, from which he suffered much. His services were useful in assisting the artillery.—J.H.

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From Bameean the army was accompanied by a great karrovan of 1,600 camels and 600 pack horses, together with 2,000 souls. The supplies of the karrovan, except forage and fuel, were laden upon its carriage cattle, and were provided chiefly at the station of Bameean. From Kamerd to Khoolum, or Tash Khoorghaun, the army was increased by our Uzbek allies, under Meer i Wullee, and for a short time by a Hazarrah contingent. The Uzbecks amounted to one thousand horse. These subsisted upon the resources of the country. Forage was therefore provided nearly all the distance for 2,600 horses and 2,000 camels. Besides these, the Hazarrah contingent and native militia amounted to about one thousand cavalry, who accompanied the army from Kamerd to Derrah i Esoff, or the fort of Kipchack. The frequent halts made during the passage of the army over the mountains seriously increased the demand upon the forage and agricultural resources of the country, viz., at Tope, two days; Bameean, ten days; Aleatoo, one day; Sykaun, fifteen days; Kamerd, twenty-two days; Bajegah, twelve days; Doab, three days; Char Ouliah, three days; Derrah i Esoff, or valley of Kipchack, six days; Killah i Ish Kale Beg, three days; Boonee Karra, two days; Mozar, six days; and at Tash Khoorghaun, two months. At this place the cavalry of Mozar and Sir i Pool, being seventeen hundred strong, had been quartered two months before our arrival.

Returning from Tatary toward Cabul, in the month of March, 1839, the time and place of halting were: at Rooley, two days—here those who brought grain and forage from Tash Khoorghaun supplied themselves; the remainder, being by far the most numerous part of the cavalry, passed one day and part of the next without forage; a few subsisted on the scanty sweepings of a field of barley stubble one day and fasted the next. At this halt the country had been cleared on our advance of forage, grain and fuel. At Bameean the army halted twelve days, to wait for the militia of the Cabul Koh Damun to turn out and advance upon the Hazarrahs of Sheikh Ali, for the purpose of making a diversion to secure our passage, unmolested, through their

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country. On the Sibber pass there was a halt of three days to complete our arrangements. At Sheikh Ali, four days ; Chardeh, two days ; Gholebund, or colloquially, Ghorebund, two days ; Charragah, four days. There was great difficulty in procuring forage and grain on the return of the force. In the district of Sheikh Ali the inhabitants fled to their strongholds in the mountains, refusing all pacific overtures for supplies, and the season of the year was a bar against the Avghauns helping themselves. Our only remedy was to hasten our movements and run the gauntlet by starvation and snow storms. The men—many of them subsisted upon green clover and by stealing a handful of barley from the nosebags of the horses, who, indeed, could ill afford to spare it !

The plain of Tatarly lying north of the Caucasian range is called by Quintus Curtius the plain of Pamezan, and the region about to be described is known as the Paropamizan Mountains, or Paropamisus. Mahomedan historians of a later date treat of that mountain district under the denomination of Ghoree. To the natives of the country and neighboring nations, the region is known as the Hazarrah-jaut'h and also Hindoo Kush. Hazarrah-jaut'h is a Persian etymon compounded of *Hazar-ha*, signifying thousands or myriads, and *jaut'h* or tribe. The denomination Hindoo Kush or Indian Kush is probably derived from the geographical position of these mountains, which were considered, in the days of Darius Hystaspes, the boundary between Bactria and India. Koh i Kush is the Persian for Mountain of Kush, hence the English plural term *Cau-cas-us*. The natives of Khorassan have derived their term of Hindoo Kush by eliciting the word *Koh* and substituting *Hindoo* as the appropriate geographical cognomen marking the frontier of India. We have, therefore, *Hindoo Kuss* or *Kush* in place of *Koh i Kuss* ; *Kuss* being the Hindee and *Kush* the Persian mode of pronouncing the same word, which comes from the Persian infinitive *Kush ten*—to kill—*Kuss* and *Kush* are simply vernacular modifications of the same word. The "i" marks the genitive case. The name also literally means "Hindoo Murderer" and may allude to the extreme

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cold, so fatal to Hindoos, that prevails amongst the regions of perpetual snow, existing in the more elevated altitudes of this "strong girdle of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

Paropamisus is a modernized term, which I understand to signify the Alpine region lying between Herat and Swaab i Bonere on the west and east, separating the cities of Bulkh or ancient Bactra and Cabul. I shall speak of this district as the Paropamisus and express in detail the divisions of which it is composed.

The Paropamisus is bounded on the north by the plain of Bulkh ; on the south by Avghanistaun ; on the west by Herat ; and on the east by the mountains of Swaab i Bonere. It may be divided into three geographical regions, viz., the district north of the Karra Kotul, being a part of the Province of Bulkh ; the country east of the great highway from Cabul to Bulkh, via Bameean, called Hindoo Kush from the peak of that name ; and that part which lies west of the same great highway, as far west as Herat, denominated Hazarrahjaut'h and Eimauk. These divisions, which arise from geographical causes, may be subdivided by the several tribes, whose political distinctions have created a vast number of small chieftainships, although the denomination Hazarrah or Hazar-ha belongs to all who inhabit the country of that name. The natives call the country *Moolk i Hazar-ha*, which in the vernacular signifies "the country of myriads"—they say the numerous tribes inhabiting the region explains the propriety of this nomenclature. Their Soonee neighbors—the Hazarrahs being *Sheah* sectarians—affirm the name of the people to *Azar-ha*!—a name signifying "the diseased or leprous." By this appellative they make allusion to the treachery of the people, who are said to have deserted their spiritual guide, Ali, on the field of battle ! The "Lion of God," it is said, cursed the fugitives on that occasion, calling after them "*Azar-ha bashee*!—when the ridges of their noses flattened and their eyes became oblique to the transverse line of the face.

<sup>1</sup> In using the terms Indian Caucasus Mountains or Caucasus Mountains, Harlan refers to the Hindoo Kush Mountains and not to the mountain range properly denominated Caucasus lying between the Black and Caspian seas.

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From the peak of Hindoo Kush, which bears due north of the N.E. bastion of Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, the mountain ridge gradually bears toward the N.W. until it reaches the depressed eastern extremity of Koh i Baba, with which it unites, after a partial descent, at the Kotul or pass of Kharzar. At this junction the designation of Hindoo Kush ceases. The continued ridge is called Koh i Baba, or father of mountains. This ridge is conspicuous from the ruggedness of its outline, whose continuity is interrupted by vast and elevated peaks, some of which are eighteen thousand feet above the level of the sea.<sup>1</sup> The direction of Koh i Baba trends toward Herat, whence it gradually sinks into the desert of southern Khwarazam. The extent of country traversed by Koh i Baba, so long as it retains that name, is three hundred and fifty miles from the west trending easterly. In its breadth the Hazarrahjaut'h, Eimauk and part of Kipchack are included. This mountain may justly be styled the vertebral column of the range to which it belongs. Extensive lateral branches, scarcely inferior in altitude to Koh i Baba, are thrown off; subordinate ranges arise from these, trending east and west, though not always parallel to the course of the vertebral column.

The southern boundary of Koh i Baba and all its collateral appendages would be formed by a line commencing at Sir i Chushma and running southerly, nearly south, to Meidaun, thence S.W. to Mookur, whence the river Turneck would conduct it to Kandahar. Then by the great karrovan route from southern India N.W. to Herat. On the north a line drawn W. by N. from Khoolum, or rather the city of Tash Khoorghaun, to the city of Bulkh, thence S.W. to Herat, would skirt the range and describe its limits on the side of Toorkistaun.<sup>2</sup> The breadth between these outlines is about three hundred and sixty miles as we travelled, including the inflections of the road, laterally and by elevation, by moun-

<sup>1</sup> This figure was taken by Harlan from Lieutenant John Macartney, whose measurements appear in Mounstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Dependencies in Persia, Tatory and India* (London, 1815).

<sup>2</sup> This country of the Uzbek Tatars is called Toorkistaun or Tooraun. The Turks of Europe are derived from these people.—J.H.

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tain and by vale ; which a seaman would call measurement by dead reckoning.

The indefinable tracery of this Alpine region would foil an expert topographer, in an attempt to follow their tortuous delineations ; their outline is broken by steep, rugged peaks, naked rocks and abrupt hills. By these the valleys are circumscribed and the face of the country is generally without soil, a very scanty vegetation being sustained in the crevices, depressions and ravines. When these expand into dells and more extensive valleys, irrigated by springs or rain, vegetation becomes more abundant, but the soil, except in bottom lands in the vicinity of considerable natural streams, is thin and unproductive, affording no encouragement to the natives to induce a change from pastoral to agricultural pursuits. The population is therefore predatory, and not impelled by the possession of wealth to the promotion of pacific habits.

Approaching from the south the ascent is less steep ; both eastern and western aspects of the lateral branches are similar to the wild and broken precipices of the northern face of the subordinate ranges. Huge fragments rent asunder from the cliffs and dashed from their position into the valleys beneath, form separate nebulae of hills, or great amorphous masses of naked mountain fragments. The peaks of Koh i Baba and the northern face of the mountains are covered with perennial snow, as low as the altitude of eleven thousand feet. Near Yakaolung a high lateral branch diverges from Koh i Baba, passing west of Bameean. The outline of this branch gradually sinks toward Bulkh-ab-balla, where its declivity abruptly descends amongst the numerous soil covered hills of the Kipchack district.

To the west of this place a high range of mountains separates the country of Kipchack from the Char Eimauk, lying north-east of Herat. The Kipchack range continues north toward the city of Bulkh, terminating at the southern edge of the plain in a perpendicular face, presenting a mural aspect to the plain of the Oxus. At Bulkh-ab-balla, a name given to the district about the source of the Bulkh river, as appears from the signification of the name, a subordinate

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range is thrown off eastwards ; this soon divides into three minor branches, which form in their continuation those congeries of mountains that include the valleys of Sykaun and Kamerd. Spurs thrown off in all directions form everywhere a network of hills and mountains. The southern minor branch passes north of Ak Robat, where its pass takes the name of that fortress, and bends southerly toward the Hindoo Kush. The middle minor branch, after leaving Hadjer, near its origin, is called the Dundan Shukun, or "tooth breaker," forming the northern boundary of Sykaun ; and the northern branch, which frowns over the north boundary of the deep, dark dell of Kamerd, is known as the Karra Kotul, or Black Pass.

Opposite Bulkh-ab-balla, on the southern face of Koh i Baba, at Dye Zungée, the vertebral column sends off another arm toward Kandahar, coursing S.W. and ramifying into many subordinate ranges. From these again spring numerous spurs, which are lost in the desert of Kirman. Where they approach the Turneck valley they terminate with precipitous fronts, separated from similar heights on the opposite of the river Turneck, which rises at Mookur. . . .

The great southern arm of Koh i Baba, springing from the vicinity of Dye Zungée, is inhabited by the tribes of Dye Kundee, near the top of the ridge ; Jaughoorée, on the south ; Gizzoo, near Kandahar ; Shaher i Staun, Oruzghan ; Zoulee ; Mawer ; Bulkh Yaree, near Ghuznee ; and Beysoot.

Dye Zungée is situated upon the highest arable point of Koh i Baba, south of the ridge, but the drainage is toward the north. North of Koh i Baba are placed the tribes, Bulkh-ab-balla, Yakaolung, Fouladee, and Bameean. Lall is west of the southern arm, joining Dye Zungée on the east and Dye Kundee on the south, having Char Eimauk on the north and west. In the districts of Dye Zungée and Dye Kundee there are said to be three hundred and sixty *koles*, the native name for ravine. These contracted dells are supplied with water from the snow, which exists perpetually upon the elevated peaks. The drainage of all these *koles* is toward the north. The water flowing from them is collected into an extensive artificial lake : the egress of the water



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being dammed up by a stupendous dyke near Bulkhaballa. This dyke is called by the natives Bund i Ameer. Their traditions refer the construction of it to the age of Berrie Berrie, an imaginary individual to whom is attributed gigantic and satanic powers. The name, however, except in an allegorical sense, of which these people are ignorant, does not indicate an individual but is derived from the Greek and means a period of time previous to the advent of Mahomed, when all the world, excepting the professors of Islam, was barbarian! Infidel and barbarian are terms applied by Mahomedans to all classes beyond the pale of their religion, or who existed previous to the promulgation of Mahomedanism! These terms are still given by Mahomedan historians, with bigoted contempt, to all who are not co-professors with themselves. A tradition of the country ascribes the construction of the Bund or dyke to the miraculous power of Ali, *Shah i Merdan*—the King of Men. This is the founder, a glorious and sacred celebrity, of the Persian schism. The son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Mahomed, this patron apostle of the sect visited the Hazarrahs to preach the true religion, but they refused to embrace the new faith unless the apostle could sustain his pretensions by a miraculous demonstration. They proposed that Ali should prove the truths of his doctrine by damming up the gorge, through which the flood of waters passed down from their mountains toward the plain! Ali readily complied with the condition and performed the work in an instant of time. Ali was then acknowledged the true *Kheleefa* and the people forthwith accepted the faith proposed to them by the "Lion of God!"

Collating my manuscript with the late Sir Alexander Burnes' published remarks,<sup>1</sup> relating to the Hazarrahjaui'h, I find our enumeration of the grand divisions, or tribes, corresponds very nearly. This is a subject familiar to the natives of Cabul, so that the insulated position of Sir Alexander did not prevent him from acquiring such knowledge as common report could furnish. . . . Sir Alexander was subjected to a strict system of espionage by the Ameer, and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Burnes, *Cabool* (London, 1842).

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every individual, actuated by the spirit to which their leader gave the tone, coalesced in the plan of finesse, which falsified and corrupted all the channels of information through which the English agent endeavored, by unremitting personal exertions, to accumulate facts ! This diplomatic tact of the Ameer will be quite familiar to those who are acquainted with the mendacious habits of Asiatics ! . . .

Dye Zungee is bounded on the south by the Ahelbund river ; on the north by Bulkh-ab-balla and Yakaolung ; on the west by Lall and Dye Kundee ; and on the east by Beysoot and Fouladee. In the highest part of Dye Zungee the snow lies six months in the valleys and is perpetual upon the summits of the higher peaks. These start up like glaciers and are elevated far above the arable soil. Rain seldom falls. The ravines and dells are supplied with water from the incumbent mass of snow. The salubrity of its climate is much celebrated by the natives ; their fine, clear complexions amply testify the truth of their commendations. The soil is stony, but the hills and valleys are covered with verdure of spontaneous growth. The short season of vegetation causes a brief existence of its produce, which the hand of nature has sparingly bestowed within the region. From October to April inclusive the country is covered with snow, and the heat during the remaining months is not sufficiently intense to develop rapid growth. Agricultural pursuits do not, therefore, thrive in those altitudes. By the end of September, ice forms in the valleys at night ; through the day the air is sharp and bracing. In October snow falls and continues at intervals throughout the next six months ; the winter breaks up in April. About the first of May spring suddenly commences.

A standing crop of wheat is sometimes buried under the snow before it can be harvested. Then it is allowed to remain standing until the following spring. In this case I have been told the vegetative power of the grain will be destroyed. The greatest heat of the season will be in the latter part of July, but the temperature is never oppressive. On the ridge of Koh i Baba vegetation is so feeble that some herbacious plants may be seen exhibiting their flowers within

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an inch of the ground: the effect is beautiful, as all the surface glows with the dwarfed herbage in a brilliant carpeting of vivid and varied colors. But not a cultivated garden vegetable is to be met with; and nowhere, except in the vicinity of running streams, and the less elevated heights, are trees seen. Horticultural necessities are brought from the lower countries of Gizzoo and Jaughooree.

The animal kingdom is not numerous in species, although the Hazarrahjaut'h is pretty well stocked with "tail less" rats of a peculiar description. It is called *Loanda* by the natives, which signifies an animal without a tail. It has the fur of a rabbit and much the appearance of one half-grown, except the ears. In shape it more nearly resembles a guinea pig. Teeth and claws of a rat, broad, flat forehead, and a hare lip. It lays by a store of forage for winter food, which it piles over its burrow. It is very fond of green clover. It is a sociable animal, becoming familiar immediately after being captured. It has a singular habit of depositing its dejections upon the pieces of clay slate, which form the debris of the formation.

The people are smaller of stature than the natives of the surrounding plains. This fact may be chiefly owing to the sterility of their soil. The mountaineers of Cabul, who inhabit a highly productive country, are remarkable for their large stature and athletic forms. Men, no less than inferior animals, requires a full supply of necessary and wholesome food to develop his physical powers. The Hazarrahs are a strong, hardy, athletic race, remarkable for *en bon point* and blunt features. The external angle is slightly elevated out of the transverse line of the face; the ridge of the nose is considerably flattened; they have large ears, thick lips, broad faces, and high cheek bones; the hair is black and glossy, beards sparse.

Of the inferior animals, wolves, foxes and hares infest the hills and ravines. The wild sheep and wild goat are, I believe, the only species of deer found in Dye Zungie and the altitudes of the Paropamisus, or indeed, throughout the Caucasian range. The antelope inhabit the plains and low valleys near their debouche thereon. The wild sheep exist

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in great numbers, but they are not gregarious. They form a staple of the winter food of the inhabitants. In winter they migrate to the lower ranges. It is called by the natives *Mar Khora*, which is the Persian for "snake eater." From this animal the *Bezoar* is procured, which in the opinion of Asiatics, is supposed to be a prophylactic against the venom of serpents. This *Bezoar* is a gall stone which is used by first dividing it in two parts through its diameter. The flat surfaces are then applied to the snake bite. The substance being porous, draws out the poison by absorption, adhering to the wound until it becomes replete with moisture. The wild sheep is remarkable for the immense size of his horns! Some of these are said to be large enough to accommodate a fox with lodgings!

A hardy breed of horses is raised at Dye Zungee, but like all mountain bred horses, are generally not so large as those of the plains. They are useful as burthen cattle, and under the pack saddle will convey two hundred pounds upon a journey. They are sure footed and allowed to go unshod, notwithstanding the spicular debris of clay slate and the sharp fragments of quartz and granite abounding in the paths. These horses are not so diminutive but what they can be used for cavalry in their frequent predatory excursions within the Paropamisus. They are strong, active and hardy, and stand from ten to thirteen hands high. The chiefs procure their fine large horses from the plain of the Oxus, Herat, Kipchack, Shaher i Sulz, Derrah i Esoff, and Eimauck, in the vicinity.

The camel is a scarce animal and not much used. It is prized more for its fine wool, which grows profusely upon those bred amongst the nomads of the plain and mountain skirts. This wool is improved in length and fineness by the cold temperature of the climate. Owing to the intricacy of the country and the better facilities offered by the horse in their predatory habits, the camel is seldom used; his slow movements and clumsy gait would make him a troublesome companion in the quick-footed foray. The wool of the camel is made into a beautiful and exceedingly warm cloth, worn of its natural yellowish brown color, called *berrick i shutteree*.

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They have few horned cattle. Sheep with great tails and goats are abundant. These chiefly constitute the subsistence of the inhabitants. They have a magnificent greyhound and a powerful mastiff, the latter of which is a match for the wolf.

Birds of the pheasant kind are common. There is also an abundance of large and small dove-colored partridges, which have red legs and a ring of the same color around the eyes. The *boodena* or diminutive brown partridge inhabits the lower valleys, approaching the plains. The lake of Bund i Ameer abounds in fish. The fact is singular that in a country so conspicuous for sterility and scarcity of food, the domestic fowl and fish should be excluded from the articles of diet to which the Hazarrahs of Dye Zungee are accustomed! They consume the eggs of fowls, but have discovered that the animal is unclean because of its non-discriminating voracity. Fish are objected to because they have no throats to cut, and cannot, therefore, be killed according to the law of the Koran, which prescribes a formula for slaying animals intended for food, which requires the throat to be cut and the act to be sanctified by an invocation from the Koran. The Hindoos, in contradistinction, strikes off the animal's head by a blow upon the back of the neck, from which it must be severed by a single blow.

Wheat and barley are the only grains produced in Dye Zungee and in all the more highly situated countries of the Hazarrahjaut'h. The first is grown in small quantities for the space under cultivation. Barley is better adapted to the soil and a quantity is produced sufficient for the principal part of the population: it supplies the poor with a very good loaf. It is of a superior species peculiar to the climate and is called *cull jo*, or bald barley, from the fact of its being naked or without the shell common to other barley grown in a warmer climate. The grain is full and large, resembling wheat in appearance, in size, form, and color. Attempts have been made to grow the species in Cabul, a much more temperate climate existing there, but the result has been a good grain assimilated to the ordinary barley of the country! In Cabul it becomes coated with a husk. . . .

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Dye Kundee is still more rugged and inaccessible than Dye Zungee! It occupies the most broken and sterile portion of the inhabitable country of Koh i Baba. Many of its defences are situated upon isolated rocks, not otherwise accessible than by ropes and ladders. It lies W.S.W. of Dye Zungee, is bounded on the north by Lall and Eimauk, south by Jaughooree and Gizzoo, and west by Eimauk. . . .

The Hazarrahs being a prolific people, some travellers have estimated their families at six individuals each. This number implies a degree of fecundity which the writer thinks far over-rates the population. The Hazarrahs are, it is true, a domestic people, and much given to sensuality. Although polygamy, in common with all other Mahomedan communities, is lawful, and under the restraints of all well regulated societies the institution is not directly destructive of fertile results, the masses are not sufficiently wealthy to indulge in the luxury of many wives. Those who can afford themselves the privilege of an expensive matrimonial establishment will not be found out of the class of chiefs. The poor are, by necessity, restricted to a single wife. The Hazarrahs are, moreover, free from vicious habits inimical to the increase of population. They indulge also the leisure of pastoral life. But notwithstanding these facts, doubtless favorable to the production of offspring, the writer believes that although fecundity exists in a greater degree than in more wealthy and active communities, the increase of population is checked by the insufficient provision for their subsistence; by the general prevalence of mendicity, the usages of slavery and the depredations of the Uzbecks, who seek in their predatory excursions an accumulation of captives. Their widely dispersed villages, small in size, imply the existence of a sparse population. The estimation of four to a family is in India found to afford an accurate census. There the population is more dense and the same estimate for the Paropamisus would rather give an excess of inhabitants, which may be stated as follows, viz., total of families, 91,000, or 367,600 souls.

To illustrate the climate of the Paropamisus, another division is essential. I shall adopt that which the subject

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naturally suggests in a mountainous region, being guided by the elevation of the several districts. The most elevated and consequently the severest and most inclement inhabitable region includes the following districts, viz., of Hazarrahjaut'h: Dye Zungee, Dye Kundee, part of Beysoot, Bulkh-ab-balla, and the whole of Hindoo Kush. The remarks heretofore made in relation to Dye Zungee will indicate the first climate. The second climate includes those districts adjoining but nearer the plateau. These are: part of Beysoot, Bameean, Fouladee, Yakaolung, Jaughoree, Gizzoo, Bulkh Yaree, Eimauk, and Kipchack. This climate produces the fruits of a cold country similar to the north of Europe. The third climate is temperate, but colder than Cabul by twenty days. To this are referred Zoulee, Oojivistan, Mawer, and Shaher i Staun. The fourth climate comprises the lowest valleys and is nearly identified with the Province of Bulkh, including Derrah i Esoff, Heibuck, Ghuzneeguck, Kamerd, and Oruzghan, &c., on a similar level.

The sudden and vast elevation of this Alpine region above the neighboring plain of the Oxus and the valley of Cabul originates great diversity of climate and consequently modifies, in some measure, several customs of the natives. In the upper climate the Hazarrahs inhabit houses half sunk in slopes of hills, usually with terraced roofs. The domiciles rise in streets, one behind another, like an amphitheatre. The poorer classes use thatched roofs. On the top of the eminence a bastion is constructed of sun-dried mud, where the people of the village, consisting of a few houses, resort in case of danger from the sudden forays of their Uzbek neighbors. This defence is a very necessary precaution against the predatory practices of those Tatar robbers. Behind barricades the Hazarrahs defend themselves with desperate courage against an enemy whose object is the accumulation of slaves!

Those inhabiting the lower climate, who are subject to the tax collectors of Cabul, not infrequently exhibit equal bravery in defence of their property. A considerable posse of cavalry will frequently be driven from their pur-

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pose by a garrison numbering an old man and his wife ! In the valleys, where the climate is more favorable to husbandry and the population more dense, they erect forts with high walls defended by bastions and having an area sufficient for the protection of a large village population. Forts of this kind have usually a number of store houses and domiciles within the area, constituting a small village ; the houses are one storied, erected without regard to symmetry of arrangement. The streets are narrow, crooked, unpaved, and dirty—the buildings have only a ground floor and the roofs are terraced. The whole is built of sundried mud. The houses of the villages, all of which are walled, resemble those of the plain to whose vicinity they approximate. Toward Bulkh on the north and Kandahar on the south the roofs are arched over with sundried brick, owing to the scarcity of building timber. On the Cabul frontier they are constructed like those of the Avghauns. The floors are levelled and made of beaten clay, affording a smooth and cleanly surface upon which to spread their coarse felts.

In winter their houses are heated by a very simple and efficient contrivance. A frame, usually of wood, forming a cube of two feet, more or less, is placed in the middle of the room ; a chafing dish filled with ignited *chelma* is placed within the frame, and large felts, several sheepskins tanned in the wool and sewed together, or one or more coverbits, according to the size of the *sendillee*, as the contrivance is called, are thrown over it. The inmates then sit around the *sendillee* with their inferior extremities under the covering, and as the weather becomes more severe, they draw the covering up to their waists or shoulders, before the neck. This position secures a warm atmosphere to every part except the back, and that is shielded from the extreme cold by a *posteen*, or large sheepskin cloak, or a *tchoga* made of the coarse cloth worn generally by the poor, called *berrick i burrie*. A much finer cloth called *berrick i shutteree* is made of camel's wool ; the former is wove from the lamb or sheeps wool. At night the whole family, together with such guests as may be



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present, stretch themselves under the covering of the *sendillee*, wrapped in their cloaks, lying around in a circle with their feet toward the fire. The *chelma* being renewed at bedtime will continue burning until morning. By this time, should there have been many lodgers, as such rooms are always small, there will have accumulated sufficient heat for ordinary comfort! The furniture of their houses consists merely of felts and carpets. The dignity or wealth of the proprietor being estimated by the quality of his cloth!

Their clothing is manufactured chiefly in their own country from the wool of lamb, sheep and camels. The cloth wove from the latter resembles very fine flannel, the soft woolly surface feeling like fur. It is much used by the higher orders here as well as in Cabul and other neighboring countries; it is usually made into *kubbahs* or *surtouts* of the habit. It is called *berrick i shutteree*. The *berrick i burrie* is wove of lamb's wool and is used for making *tchogas* or cloaks for winter wear of the people throughout Central Asia. All the pastoral tribes contribute to the production of this cloth and also a coarser kind of sheep's wool for common wear of the laboring class. This cloth is coarse, thick and firm, so that it makes a serviceable covering for rainy weather. Of the fine *berrick* made of camel's wool the supply is limited and the wealthy classes frequently substitute or prefer broad cloth of Russian or English manufacture.

The whole of the range of the Caucasian is for the most part supplied by the overland transit trade from Russia via Astrakhan. The *berrick i shutteree* will sell in Cabul at ten to forty rupees for a piece of seven yards; the breadth of the cloth is one *cubit* or about twenty inches. The seven yards being sufficient for a *tchoga* pattern. The coarse kind of *berricks* sell for three to six rupees for a made cloak or two to four rupees for the piece of cloth. Average price three rupees for the piece of seven yards at Dye Zungee. The best cloth is made there but the manufacture is common to the Paropamisus and most of the pastoral tribes of Central Asia. In the districts tributary

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to Cabul, this cloth being an article in which the revenue is partly paid, the quality is deteriorated to a much lower standard—a *berrick* being valued at a specific low price by the government collectors, without much regard to quality. An average is generally contended for by the collector, but a trifling *douceur* readily affects a transmutation from coarse to fine and the cloaks pass muster without strict scrutiny. Thus when the revenue is received in kind, the duty is lessened by a higher valuation. If the collector received the estimated *value* of the cloth in place of the cloth in kind, the interest of the manufacturer would suggest a lower valuation.

Fine and coarse felts are made from the refuse wool of the lamb and sheep. An excellent carpet is made in Dye Zungee in imitation of the Herat manufacture, whence the best Persian *calleches*, or small praying rugs, are exported. These are of various sizes from that above mentioned, as we would call it, "bed-side" carpet, to the dimensions suitable for extensive *divans*. The Dye Zungee article is sold in the markets of Herat, Kandahar, Cabul, and Bulkh, and other marts of Asia, as an inferior Persian carpet. The colors are permanent and vivid, being chiefly blue, crimson and yellow; the preponderance of the latter color distinguishes the Dye Zungee manufacture. The designs consist of the same inexplicable diversity of figures prevailing in all the Oriental carpets, with some rude attempts at the representation of birds and flowers. These are copies of very bad originals and consequently unfavorable specimens, although perhaps the best results of Hazarrah efforts in the fine arts applied to utilitarian purposes.

The Hazarrahs are in all respects far removed from a condition of luxury. The efforts of their artisans are without reference to ornament, unless a taste for the elegant may be said to appear in their fanciful decorations of military display. This principle is exhibited in their admiration of gay and brilliant colors. The same prepossession however is common to all rude people; but although the Hazarrahs are decidedly rude, they are by no means to be classed among savages! Their manners and customs

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are similar to but less refined than other Mahomedan nations. There has doubtless been a declension of civilisation in Central Asia since the earliest days of the Moslem conquest.

In estimating the character of a people a distinction must be made between the rude primeval simplicity of nature and the rudeness of licentiousness and depravity of morals arising from the corruptions of vice. The first is the foundation of a pure system of morals, whilst the latter comprises a deformed semblance of moral purity, a vile condition familiarized to the grossest conceptions and passions of man in a state of degradation. Rudeness, frugality and a despotic military government are evidences of simplicity and natural purity favorable to the existence of moral virtue. The Avghauns, the Persians and the Uzbek Tatars, who border upon the Hazarrahs, may justly be placed among the rude and depraved, while the Hazarrahs are entitled to our regard as partaking more of an unsophisticated and original people. They are not the aborigines of the country they inhabit; their origin is involved in obscurity, the intricacy of which cannot be solved by recourse to records, the existence of which nothing is known, and their crude traditions are meagre and unsatisfactory. Examining the question by the facts in which these people differ from and resemble the communities by which they are surrounded, the writer is of the opinion that they are a fugitive race from the Tatar frontier of Persia subsequent to the Mahomedan conquest. Their language is modern Persian, which with their religion proves them to have come from the Persian territory, whilst their physical resemblances to the Tatar race implies an origin in some measure connected with that people. The Hazarrahs appear to be a Tatar race speaking the modern Persian.

Bactria, previous to the Saracen conquest of Persia, was a frontier province of that kingdom. Bactria, the present city of Bulkh, was the capital of Darius Hystaspes six hundred years before the Christian era. The natives of Bactria we may assume to have been assimilated, physically,

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to the Tatars, inhabiting as they did the Tatarian frontier of Persia, which frontier the Persians extended across their national geographical boundary, formed by the Caucasian range, to the border of Mawer ul Neher, to the line of the river Oxus. Upon the decline of the Persian Empire the Saracens extended their conquests, and crossing the river Oxus, vanquished the Province of Mawer ul Neher (that is, "beyond the river"). With the forcible promulgation of their religion they introduced many of their usages, when, as history states,<sup>1</sup> they engrafted the alphabet of their language and made current the literature of their nation. The archives of the ancient nation were destroyed, together with every trace of what they considered barbarous and infidel memorials of an idolatrous nation. From this period the Persian Kingdom continued a province of the Arabian caliphs, until the rise of the Samanian dynasty under Ismail, who died in the year A.D. 907, aged sixty years.

The Samanian dynasty ruled over Transoxiana, Khorasan, Bulkh, and Seistan. Ismail, in the progress of his conquests, would have found in Bactria a people speaking the Persian language, with a physical resemblance to the Tatars, and practising the Mahomedan religion. A people who at no very distant period possessed political independence, and who were doubtless prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity to recover that independence, which the turmoil of a foreign invasion probably suggested. This border population being unable to contend openly with Ismail's army we presume to have been the ancestors of the Hazarrahhs, who fled to the mountains south of their possessions as a temporary refuge, becoming, subsequently, permanent residents there as the power of Ismail consolidated itself in the settlement of that prince's conquests. They were ultimately driven to the less accessible regions they still occupy, as their enemies established a new dynasty, maintaining to this day the feelings of aversion and hostility which existed from the period of their ancestors' flight from the plain of the Oxus. Their intercourse with the plains being thus intercepted, and the same or a similar con-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.—J.H.

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dition of existence being enforced upon them by the slave dealing practices of the Uzbecks ; without literature, without records of their race, living in continued strife to sustain an independent political existence, ignorance but faintly illuminated by tradition has thrown around their origin the obscurity we have endeavored to penetrate. The conclusion, not unworthy of confidence, is that the Hazarrahs are derived from the mixed Persian and Tatar border race who inhabited the northern frontier of Persia called Bactria, and that their ancestors were driven from their possessions to the fastnesses of the Hazarrahjaut'h, within the Paropamisus, by political convulsions, the date of their emigration being uncertain, although collateral history indicates the event to have occurred at an early period of the Samanian conquests.<sup>1</sup>

Since the occupation of their present localities, they have gradually fallen into a rude condition of life, owing to their insulated position. While their neighbors, by means of social intercourse, the indulgence of luxurious leisure, and the interchanges of commerce have progressed through a higher civilization, followed by a period of decline, resulting in the basement and degradation which now characterize the Uzbecks.

Except in complexion the various tribes of Hazarrahs strongly resemble each other. Those inhabiting the first climate are fairer than their neighbors, and the shade of complexion varies as the native approaches the fourth, or lowest climate, until it assimilates with the Uzbek on the north or the inhabitants of the Koh Damun in the Cabul valley on the south of the Hazarrahjaut'h. The people of Jaughooree and Gizzoo, which are warm countries, where snow does not lie permanently during winter, are much darker than those of Dye Zunguee and Dye Kundee. The lower climate is much the same as Kandahar and the complexion of the natives and the fruits of those districts are also similar. Amongst the higher orders of the first climate, many Hazarrah ladies have the beautiful tint of a healthy, florid, English complexion.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

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The reputation of the Hazarrah women has been traduced by casual observers, and they have also been abused by the misrepresentations of their orthodox neighbors, whose sectarian prejudices are opposed to the concession of moral purity to a community of infidel schismatics ! The women of the Hazarrahjaut'h occupy an elevated position in their social relations. The people are remarkable for their domestic habits. The ordinary pursuits of the sexes are conducted with mutual participation in public and private. Their leisure, of which they have much during winter, is passed in the retirement of domestic life, and during the remaining seasons, pastoral habits still allow of this indulgence of indolence. Even the turmoil, the danger and fatigue of belligerent practices, and the scarcely less frightful and adventurous occupations of the chase, do not separate the sexes in their social and indissoluble intimacy. The chase and the predatory foray tend rather to strengthen the bonds of familiar friendship as they may be supposed to impair the comfort and endanger the lives of their dearest connections. The men display a remarkable deference for the opinions of their wives, especially on grave occasions, which impresses a stranger with surprise, when that deference is contrasted with the indifference and contempt usually prevailing amongst Mahomedans in their treatment and opinions of the sex ! The sexes participate in the domestic responsibility and in the labors and pleasures of their condition. In their confined and retired societies strangers seldom intrude. If a Tajick or *Kizzelbash* from Avghanistaun or Persia should be led by commercial enterprise to pass through their country, the unusual occurrence excites fear and amazement, which are emotions antagonistic to lust !

The law concerning adultery and other similar violations of social purity is severe and inexorable, and its execution resting in the irresponsible hands of the injured party, is solicited by the passion of revenge. Seclusion of the women is not practised, less dependence being placed on bolts and bars for the preservation of female virtue than is allowed to a sense of prudence and the influence of honor.

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To secure the purity of their women they associate with them as objects of respectful solicitude. The punishment for practical lasciviousness is slavery. The criminals, if beneath the higher order, escheating to the chief of the tribe, or to the clan when that subdivision is large and powerful. The offenders are sold to the Uzbecks, or redeemed by their friends by ransom equal to their value as slaves. Also, in the instance of delinquent chastity, a compensation to their laws and customs exists in the union of offenders; but to effect this arrangement, influential family connections are required to combat the cupidity of the chief, whose pecuniary interests would suffer by the act of mercy—a determination to which they are not much given.

The whole race is simple, ignorant and unsuspicious of others. The men are exceedingly uxorious. They address their wives with the respectful and significant title of *Aga*, which means master, and also mistress, as the word may refer to male or female. They associate with them as equal companions, arrogate no superior pretensions of pre-eminence, consult with them on all occasions, and in weighty matters, when they are not present, defer a conclusion until the opinions of their women can be heard. The women, in fact, are free from temptation; and that fact is a safeguard to chastity no less potent than the force of education. The opinions expressed by their neighbors derogating the virtue of Hazarrah females is unjust and their allegations on that head are unfounded in a national sense.

A travelling pedlar from Cabul who visited Dye Zungee relates that he amused the wife of a respectable Hazarrah by ornamenting her eyelids with *soorma*, the black pigment of sulphurate of antimony, used by the Asiatics for coloring the edges of their eyelids. When the husband saw the lady "prepared"—to use a translated native expression sufficiently expressive—he took the guest's attentions in good part and was pleased with the effort to do the agreeable. The pedlar had committed an inexcusable familiarity to which he pleaded guilty, urging in extenuation that

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“the Hazarrahs are a simple people, but not vicious, and their women are not more addicted to incontinency than the most secluded ladies of the best regulated harems amongst the Avghauns.”

In regard to the jealousy of the men, it may be remarked that they are not much addicted to the feeling, which is the strongest proof of the fact that their women give them no cause for the excitement. It is known, however, that the men are liable to be roused on a point of honor and that a savage recklessness has been displayed by individuals of the community in defence of the female character! A young man of respectable family, and an attache of the chief Mahomed Reffee Beg, was heard to allude in terms of adulation to the beauty of one of the prince's wives; or he may have been falsely accused by a designing enemy—which was asserted by his friends. Mahomed Reffee, who thought with Cæsar on this delicate matter, felt his honor touched through the reputation of his wife. He instantly executed a cruel punishment, certainly much beyond the point of retribution. The offender was deprived of the eyes which made him sin, and thus became a living monument of vindictive wrath. Some of the young man's confidential servants suffered death; but the lady remained free from suspicion. The prince's jealousy was awakened, but not of his wife was he jealous: he was so of his honor! The offender's remark was a breach of honor on his part, involving the fame of an innocent person, and the avenger acted in conformity with the high notions of purity that identify his class!

Of the simplicity for which the Hazarrahs are noted, Meer Ali Khan, *Khurd'i* of Cabul,<sup>1</sup> related that, “passing near fortress in their country I observed a Hazarrah girl attentively regarding me over the top of the wall. I drew up my horse and asked her for water. She pointed to the river, with an expression of surprise! But when I demanded of her a bowl of water, she exclaimed with astonishment, ‘Behold this Cabul fool! here is our calf who has sense

<sup>1</sup> Governor of Kabul.



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enough to drink at the river, whilst this man knows not how to quench his thirst without a wooden bowl! ' ' "

The poverty of the Hazarrahs is conspicuous and prevalent. Their feudal system represents each individual as a retainer of the chief, from whom his sustenance is derived. Where the family is so extensive there must be many sufferers, although each one has an allotted mode of subsistence. The population is divided into two classes, viz., the military and the husbandman or pastoral incumbent of the soil. The former is provided for by the issue of rations, or an allotment in *jaghire*. The latter subsists upon a specific portion of his labor, but his means are more precarious ; they are defined by an allowance derived from the lowest and most straitened economy which avarice and covetousness can dictate. Consequently the least depreciation of his resources throws him into a condition of distress, whilst the slightest increase of these means is seized upon by the chief with inexorable avidity. The military is therefore the only thriving profession under a feudal system. These retainers having the countenance of their superiors, are enabled to plunder and oppress with impunity their less fortunate fellow slaves—which term expresses the condition of every man subordinate to a chief of paramount degree ! The law of the strong over the weak and the border principle "that thou shalt want ere I want" are the regulating byelaws of their social institutions. Each village must furnish and provide for a number of cavalry at the rate of one for each family. These soldiers are equipped, prepared for service and maintained when upon duty by those who remain at home, and being so essential to the power of their chief, they are subsisted on a scale far above the condition of the husbandman, as they possess the power to enforce their claims. The soldier never suffers while there is a subject to plunder, be he friend or foe ! The chiefs and their military retainers exhibit a comfortable display of the superior privileges that attach to the command and disposition of plenty, while the husbandman here as in all feudal communities is but a part and portion of the soil he treads upon.

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Being untaught, the Hazarrahs display no powers of invention, and from the inanition of hopeless despair, if left to themselves, many might starve in apathy! Their inadequate means to contend with the necessities of winter where the climate is severe have been the subject of painful commiseration! A family may be seen occupying a small bivouac, composed of a mud terrace or thatch, supported at each corner by a rude pillar of dried clay; the walls being built of *chelma*. This *chelma* is to serve the purpose of shelter and also afford a meagre supply of fuel. The same substance may also be piled up in reserve on the top of the bivouac. As the season progresses the material is gradually used up, and when the season is longer than anticipated, or more severe than usual, the last cake of *chelma* must be expended from the walls, so as to leave a suffering family shivering without a protection from the inclemency of winter! The *chelma* walls are consumed, piece by piece, and the barrier gradually disappears in the ratio of its utility; when most required it is doubly requisite, as fuel and defence against the climate! The consumption is increased by the cold and the cold aggravated by the consumption of his fuel, whilst the wretched sufferer, in listless contemplation of his miserable companions, wife and children, droops over the dying embers. Now and then an adventitious grain of barley, secluded in the *chelma*, parched by the heat, leaps from the ashes, and the starving children scramble for the rarity, attack and tear each other in the struggle for its possession! Before the opening of spring the poor husbandman may have consumed the walls of his bivouac, and must contend through many frosty days with extreme suffering, until the sun shall have become sufficiently potent to generate a genial warmth. The poor man's forage will doubtless be nearly expended and his flocks remain partially fed, their milk rapidly decreases and starvation stares him in the face. Thus, cold, naked and hungry, he offers his helpless offspring to the slave dealers of Tatar; or, if he belongs to the independent tribes, to the covetous harpies of Avghaun cupidity, who prowl amongst their habitations in search of revenue!

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Under these circumstances, the writer has known a foraging party of British troops to demand a supply of forage; the proprietors, to whom the forage was more precious than their lives, refusing gold in exchange for the commodity, were butchered by the troops, who enforced the orders of their officers! The above remarks refer especially to the natives of Beysoot, who are subject to the government of Cabul. The independent Hazarrahs are comparatively less wretched; amongst the latter the instances of mendicity are much less frequent and not so extreme, although inhabiting the least productive soil; they fare better because less oppressed by revenue exactions. The result of poverty in instance allows the sufferer to choose betwixt starvation and slavery, whether he will be sold to the Uzbecks with the paradox of slavery before him—the prospect of plenty and the loss of all—or be starved to death. Amongst the conscientious Avghauns, who offer still another paradox, where he sees a people abhorring slavery under certain modifications, while they liquidate the demand of revenue by clandestine man selling!

Slavery is justified by the Koran under specified restrictions. Amongst these, an infidel, other than a Jew or a Christian, may be enslaved to give him a chance of conversion. Jews, Christians and Hindoos are tolerated on payment of the *jezzee*, or poll tax; and during a war all recusant and infidel prisoners can receive quarter only on condition of conversion or slavery. Rules for the treatment of slaves, founded upon benevolence and consequent philanthropy, have also been promulgated by the Prophet, but to reduce a free born Mahomedan to slavery is equivalent to man stealing, which is a capital crime. It was amusing to hear the Ameer of Cabul declaim, with apparent feeling, upon the subject of abuses in the system of Tatar slavery. On these occasions he expressed with considerable eloquence the sufferings of persons now slaves who had been born free, the rupture of social bonds in changing hands, the parental anguish and the violation of filial attachments, the cruelty of proprietors, and the innumerable miseries of their condition. All these incidents ostensibly exciting

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unfeigned commiseration, while a large number of the personal attendants then present were slaves, many born of free parents and all Mahomedans, but devotees of the Persian schism. Hundreds of these Hazarrahs subject to his sway are annually disposed of in his city of Cabul, and a duty paid to government upon their price!

The revenue of Beysoot under the kings of Cabul was seventeen thousand rupees; Dost Mahomed increased it to the enormous sum, comparatively, of eighty thousand rupees, which was an assessment of two rupees for each family! This tax is levied upon the villagers by their own chiefs. A body of one thousand cavalry is annually sent to collect the revenue. This corps is dispersed over the district in small divisions, each one with orders to collect, and is quartered upon the husbandman, who is obliged to subsist the soldiers so long as the revenue remains unpaid! This custom of purveyance adds greatly to the expense of the subject, who is liable to many vexatious processes and exactions and to injury and abuse of person and property, to enforce a speedy settlement. The revenue is collected in kind, the amount being paid in sheep, horned cattle, goats, horses, slaves, grain and *berrick*s, etc. The accumulated mass is dispatched to Cabul, which is the nearest mart of general commerce; a portion is sold for necessary cash expenses, another portion is traded off by means of reciprocal necessities and much of the grain is retained for family use. The slaves are sold by private contract, but the government levies, at the *chebotter* or customs office, a percentage upon the amount of sale!

The Hazarrahs subject to Cabul are Beysoot, Fouladee, Bameean, and Bulkh Yaree, of Hazarrahjaut'h, and the Toorkoman Hazarrahs and Sheikh Ali Hazarrahs of the Hindoo Kush. The Hubush and Tatar Hazarrahs belong to the northern division of the Paropamisus. They are established in the vicinity of Ghoree and Underab. Some of the Hazarrah tribes near Kandahar are subject to an impost levied by the chiefs of that government. During the existence of the Cabul monarchy the Hazarrah chiefs were feudatories of the royal government, but the homage

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of feudal service was never actually rendered and unless enforced by the imposing influence of superior power. The leading Hazarrah chiefs were opposed to the supremacy of the Cabul kings in the Alpine districts. In this policy they were justified by the treachery and tyranny of the Suddoozye tribe which ruled over the Cabul kingdom. One of the Hazarrah chiefs, attracted probably by the prospect of power and ambitions of courtly influence amongst his confreres, incautiously presented himself at the Cabul court when Zeman Shah was king. It was amongst the evil measures of that ill-advised monarch to seize and blind the unfortunate Hazarrah chief. This act was suggested by the unwise display of military power on the part of the Hazarrah, which aroused the jealousy of Zeman Shah ! The consequence has been fatal to Hazarrah confidence in Avghaun faith or friendship. No consideration but the assurance of personal safety arising from conscious superiority of power would induce a Hazarrah chief to venture into the presence of an Avghaun prince.

When the English achieved transient possession of Avghanistaun in 1839, the Hazarrah chiefs temporized with that power ; subsequently, at a general conference, they resolved to guard against foreign influence. Nevertheless, there was not one of those chiefs who could not have been subdued to foreign control by means of financial diplomacy, and the concentration of their resolves dispersed with wonderful facility. One of their most palpable characteristics is the very transient endurance of their amphyctyonic resolves. United resolutions confirmed by oaths may be broken as soon as made. They understand well and thoroughly practice the Machiavellian policy of deceiving the false with falsehood in disguise. Individually, they are less treacherous, but without some controlling cause to preserve their virtue, they should not be tempted to a breach of confidence by those interested in their fidelity.<sup>1</sup>

The clothing of the poor or laboring class consists

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph appears in the Harlan Manuscript as a footnote. Because of its length the editor has shifted it to an appropriate place in the text.

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of a long frock made of the *berrick i burrie* and pantaloons of the same material fitting tight near the ankles. They wrap their legs with strips of the same material, about two and a half inches wide and sufficiently long for the purpose, commencing at the ankle, and in a manner similar to cross gartering, ascend with the bands to the gamble joint where they are tied by terminal strings. This arrangement is commonly adopted by couriers and other foot men who have occasion to perform long journeys. This contrivance supports the muscles of the legs and enables the wearer to persevere in his efforts with less fatigue. Their feet are usually protected by sandals of straw. The higher orders use shoes of Cabul or Bulkh, according as their customs may be modified by the proximity of their residence to either of those cities. During winter, and indeed commonly, those of Tatar proclivity use boots, or *mashee* as they are called in "Toorkie." But for all pedestrian purposes at this season they use a most serviceable contrivance for the protection of the feet called *sooklies*, which effectually and economically secure the wearer immunity from the influence of cold, frost and snow! This *sooklie* is prepared from the fresh skin of the horse, bullock or camel, recently dispatched or accidentally killed. If dry skins only are accessible, they should be previously soaked until sufficiently flexible. The feet are wrapped in the skin with the hair outside and tightly sewed on, reaching a trifle above the ankle. These *sooklies* should be laced tightly. With this protection the feet will never become frost bitten, if the wearer avoids the access of water *within* the covering, which is impervious to cold, and also to moisture if a recent skin be used. If the *sooklie* has been made of a dried skin, soaked for the purpose, it should be allowed to dry upon the feet, after which a long and constant immersion will be required to admit of moisture passing through the integument, when the hairy side is first presented. The *sooklie*, however, is generally made and fitted from the recent skin and mostly at the moment it is desirable, it may be on the line of march and in the midst of a snow storm! The people live under bare polls, except the gentry, who

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use either a closely fitting chintz padded cap or one of sheep skin and the turban of Khorassan ; the head-dress is modified by the season. The women are habited like the men, except that they wear their hair in long braids and pendant locks.

The chiefs and their military retainers display a more agreeable picture of life. But when we reflect that their so-called luxuries and exhibition of riches, far above the condition of the poor, are drawn from the laborer by exactions fatal to his comfort and not infrequently his personal freedom, we cannot approve of the inconsiderate and unfeeling policy which controls the power of the ruler only by the capacity of the subject to endure oppression !

The chiefs are accustomed to hold their *durbars* or *dewans*<sup>1</sup> morning and afternoon. They commence their sittings after the matin prayers about daybreak and rise about 11 a.m. The afternoon session commences at 3 p.m. They usually ride out to some prospect point about this hour, and after the evening prayers, of which they have five stated periods, they return to their domiciles and for the most part continue in session with their familiar friends until they retire, at a late hour ; concluding the day with the repetition of the last prayer, called *Khoften*—literally this word is the Persian for sleep. All those people who have much pretention to the ambition of display follow either the Persian or Tatar customs in the management of their *dewan*. In public the chiefs have a small body of cavalry to attend them as a guard ; the leader's rank and weight in the community being estimated by the number of his retainers. Mahomed Reffee, the paramount chief of Dye Zungee, is attended in ordinary by two hundred mounted men, well accoutred, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, pistols, spear or fire-lock. This fire-lock has a rifle bore carrying over an ounce ball, is provided with a rest and, properly managed, will throw a bullet equally with a six pound field piece ! The leading chiefs and their confidential followers, who rank as government

<sup>1</sup> *Durbar*, I believe, is Hindoostanee for *dewan* or *divan*, which signifies a court for the dispatch of all business.—J.H.

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functionaries, are proud of their arms and martial decorations.

Their dress assimilates either to the Uzbek or Persian. The pantaloons are wide but they draw on long closely fitting stockings, and should they have the Uzbek fancy, wear the high-heeled boot of that people. Otherwise they use the Persian *kubbah* and have their loins covered with large *loongees*, a similar one being folded around the head. Those who may have been lucky in a foray wear Cashmere shawls plundered from karrovans in place of the *loongees* of Lockman with deep yellow silk borders—but only on special holiday occasions! Generally they wear no shirt, which is an Uzbek custom. Those who prefer the display of one wear the Persian garment of that character called *kummize*. This is of silk or white and turkey red cotton cloth; if the former be worn it is usually dyed of some brilliant color. Over all they draw on a *tchoga*, which is a long cloak with arms. This *tchoga* is made of *nankeen* (called by them *nanka*) or a variegated shot silk fabric made in Bocharrah. They increase the number of their *tchogas* as the cold becomes severe, not often resorting to the *sendillee*, or fire grate. This custom also exists in China. The winter *tchoga* is commonly made of fine camel's wool cloth. When the weather is raw and cold the same material is also worn for the *kubbah*.

The bigotry and cupidity of the chiefs and the mendicity and frugal habits of the people oppose insuperable obstacles to the pursuits of foreign commerce. The few who are enabled by management or influence to trade with the Hazarrahs are rewarded with heavy profits upon a small outlay. But commercial transactions with strangers are effected intermediately by residents of the frontiers, excepting a few *Syeds*, the reputed descendants of the Prophet, or others having the character and influence of sanctity, together with congenial prejudices, none attempts to penetrate within the boundaries of the independent tribes for purposes of commercial enterprise! The demand for foreign supplies is mainly confined to the chiefs and their families and the whole amount of importations, excepting



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the trade in slaves, does not exceed ten thousand rupees. The extent of imports consisting of bales of white piece goods or Bengal or Mooltaun chintz from India all of specific value per bale, and of horses from Toorkistaun, intended for the slave trade, will be a considerable sum—from thirty to sixty thousand rupees of foreign manufactured goods at first cost. The amount of goods intended for the Hazarrah slave market are entered at the customs of Tash Khoor-ghaun, whence they are carried by the Uzbek traders into the interior via Booenee Karra, Derrah i Esoff or Kipchack, Bulkh-ab-balla and Dye Zungee.

Such is the mendicity prevalent that salt is a luxury rarely available to the poor. Besides this condiment, sugar, gauze, coarse chintz of Cabul, a small quantity of European fine calicoes, white piece goods, some indigo and *kirimiz* (cochineal) are the principal articles of importation. The largest portion of these articles are brought from India and the balance, with great quantities of tea and manufactured iron, Queen's ware, paper, glass ware, and all heavy freights from Russia. The most conspicuous article of competition between these nations in the markets of Bulkh and throughout Tataria is the woollen cloths, coarse and fine manufactures of which, from both sources, are being forced into consumption. The English, it is now ascertained from my personal observation at the chief marts, afford a more durable and desirable article of fine woollen fabric, whilst the coarse bocking and baiza like cloths are sent by Russia. This result is in great measure caused by the price of freight, which is much cheaper from the north than from the south. The carriage by karrovan from Mooltaun and southern India over the Caucasian range cannot successfully compete with the railroad and water carriage through Russia to the distributing point at Astrakhan and thence over a level plain to Bocharrah and other southern marts. The proper route of communication is that which the writer suggested to His Excellency Ex-president Pierce and the present distinguished incumbent of the presidency.<sup>1</sup> A commercial treaty *on dit* has been

<sup>1</sup> The Hon. James Buchanan, May, 1858.—J.H.

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concluded between Persia and the United States, which may with propriety be left to the development of time—"for verily," the writer may exclaim, "I at last have received my reward!"

The traders take in payment the exports of the country. These consist of sheep's meat, cattle, horses, *berricks*, *ghee* (clarified butter)—a staple of all pastoral communities, lead, Persian carpets, and rugs, a few furs from the lakes, and slaves. To this list copper in abundance might be added, as the richest ores are to be found superficially located. The natives are not acquainted with the modes of elaborating the metal from the ore, and political reasons closing the inherent metallic resources of the land! Here-tofore this policy arose from the predatory relations of Muraad Beg with the country. The mineral wealth buried there will not, probably, be brought to light independent of scientific efforts and these will no doubt be precluded for an indefinite period! The rapacity of the Hazarrah chiefs prevents the passage of *kafilas* through the country on the principle of killing the goose for the golden treasure! Neither is this policy modified by the evident advantage arising from commercial confidence.

Coined money is unknown amongst them. Their fiscal arrangements are carried out by the interchange of other property than coinage. Their money of account is represented by sheep, slaves, piece goods in bales—one of the latter being the value of a slave—horses, etc. A sheep of first quality is rated at three rupees of account; second quality, two rupees; a lamb, one rupee; a horse, according to his quality, may be worth several slaves! This mode of valuation forms the currency of exchange with which the trading parties are familiar. A certain weight of lead also passed current for smaller change. In this article the country abounds and it is procurable with a trifling effort by everyone having occasion for it. Its specific weight and the heavy price of freight confine its use to small quantities. With the exception of lead and antimony their mines are not worked. These two articles are superficially seated. When lead is required by anyone, as small

change to pay a trader for some trifling purchase, the individual excavates a small cavity in the earth, fills it with *chelma* and lead ore, and a few minutes after ignition a cake or *koors* of pure lead is found at the bottom of the primitive furnace. The chiefs are well aware of the existence of copper ore in their hills, but their jealousy of foreign influence forestalls the enterprise of working them. This could not be effected unless by foreign intelligence and they justly apprehend the march of military powers in the routes of commercial enterprise. They have therefore adopted the non-intercourse system, which their inaccessible fastnesses render quite tenable against all intruders! Muraad Beg designed availing himself of mineral resources existing in Dye Zungee and his intentions originated serious alarm. His views were frustrated by the Cabul invasion and domestic dissension, since which the Hazarrahs have made a secret of their mineral wealth.

The revenue of the chief is derived from a tax of one third the produce of the cultivator; about one half the value of manufactures; an impost of one in forty of the customs, and the same upon cattle; a slave from every third family, according to the census; from fines of police; and other sources of plunder and acquisition unknown to any revenue collectors or system of finance not based upon a free use of the *bastinado*!<sup>1</sup> This revenue is received in kind and disbursed, at a high valuation, amongst the military retainers and the chief's household. The collection of this revenue is managed by the chief's subordinates and deputies, and they are allowed the privilege of purveyance during the delay of payment, without regard to the cause of such delay. These harpies luxuriate and fatten upon the cultivator, not infrequently levying double and selling the surplus under the pretext of obstinacy on the part of the cultivator or *ryott*, as he is called. By this means the *ryott* is driven to all means and every mode of defence and deprecation, flying ultimately, it may be, to some usurer, when that indispensable may chance to be accessible, and paying willingly, it may be, at least thirty-three per

<sup>1</sup> To receive the *bastinado* is to be whipped on the soles of the feet.

cent. to get rid of the vampire or a heavy bonus to buy off the application of a *bastinado* from the soles of the feet ! Let those who read, understand that this is the "unknown system"<sup>1</sup> which has existed for ages throughout the whole East, from Constantinople to Peking—by no means excepting the smallest portion of British India since the days of a Clive or a Hastings, or other most honorable and noble founders of empire and originators of fiscal policy notorious in Anglo-Indian history !

The Hazarrah chiefs thus accumulate large stores of treasure, consisting of herds, flocks, grain, clothing, and every substance essential to the wealth and subsistence of themselves and their retainers ! The *ryott's* portion, that remains after the exaction of purveyance and revenue dues, affords a scanty subsistence to the laborer and his family. Every member of his family capable of personal exertion must contribute the mite of their exertions to add to the economy of the household. The wife by carrying thorns and by field labor, and the tender children as shepherds and cowherds, and by assisting their mothers or by passing into the hands of slave drivers.

The military force is rated at a horseman to each family. The chiefs of Dye Zungee and Dye Kundee attended Nadir Shah with six thousand cavalry each. Ali Gober, the last paramount leader of these two tribes, provided a quota of twelve thousand cavalry in feudal service to the Cabul king, Zeman Shah. At present, 1840, twenty thousand cavalry may be raised by the two tribes of Dye Zungee and Dye Kundee. The independent tribes are free from foreign influence but are divided into a great number of clans having a separate political existence subordinate to and feudatories of the leading tribes.

The military excursions of the most powerful leaders frequently extend to the karrovan routes between Cabul

<sup>1</sup> A celebrated writer upon finance has expressed his unqualified admiration of the "unknown system" of finance which enabled the Turks to pay heavy levies of contributions made upon them by Paskevich, subsequent to his extensive conquests in Erivan. This result certainly did astonish the *new* writers—but a little inquiry might have cured a professional financier of his "admiration."—J.H.

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and Tatar for purposes of plundering karrovans passing towards Khorassan on their way to India from Tatar. These travelling merchants are then known to have their returns in the gold ducats of Russia and Germany! Their object in these forays is to enrich themselves with the property without enslaving the people of the karrovans, except some unprotected traveller may be found in the party, eligible as slave revenue for the Uzbecks!

Mahomed Reffee Beg has always in attendance two hundred cavalry as a standing bodyguard in readiness for active service. These are maintained by assignments on land in *jaghire* or allotments on feudal tenure. This arrangement gives control of the villagers or laborers, who in fact, belong to the soil, from which they cannot by the law of usage be severed! The chief ruler is the owner of the land and its appurtenances and the inheritor of decedents. By the Hindoo and Mahomedan customs the king usually established the heir by primogeniture in the possessions of his antecedent on receiving a *douceur* or fine modified in amount by the position of the party whose claims are founded upon his devotion to the paramount and the value of his services. The prince's bodyguard never serve, or rather travel, on foot. The rifle they use has a rest consisting of two iron prongs attached to the stock by a hinge, which admits of its being raised when not in action, and is fastened by a spring near the muzzle, beyond which it extends far enough to serve the purpose of a bayonet. It is intended to support the piece upon the heavy *loongee* worn around the waist when they discharge the weapon, and they seldom miss their mark when at full speed! In ambush the men frequently dismount should the country not admit of pursuit. On these occasions each one lies down with his head towards the enemy, before which he places a large stone, should no other cover be accessible, rolls upon his back to reload, selects his mark, with probably a ravine between them, and kills at an incredible distance with little personal risk.

The government is patriarchal, feudal and absolute. It is centred in a chief whose will is the law. The lives

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and property of his subjects are at his disposal and he is superior to control. When Mahomed Reffee Beg invited me to visit him in his own possessions, I suggested that the residence of a stranger might become a cause of offence to his people and excite a disposition to insubordination. He replied, with a savage pride, "I am master of the lives of my people and if I chose to sell them all to the Uzbecks not one of them would dare oppose my will! They are all my slaves!" This prince, Yakoob Beg of Lall, and Meer Mohib of Tkhanah are favorable to the same system of policy, which is the introduction of a regular military system, and men of such ambitious views may be always found or created in divided communities, by means of which they may subdue to their purposes the inferior, refractory parties by breaking up their combinations. By means of these leaders now (1838) and other such in the future, a firm footing may be established in the most inaccessible part of the Hazarrahjaut'h and the whole of eastern Khorassan, from the Indus to Meshed, be brought under foreign influence by any power possessing stability and permanency of purpose!

Justice is administered on the principles of a paternal government. In their numerous small civic divisions the occurrence of serious crimes are exceedingly rare. Those petty offences spring from a hasty and capricious temperament, for which the people are remarkable, may be readily provided against, or their effects compounded for, by the moderate and conciliatory influence of patriarchal authority, which amongst an unsophisticated people, it will be found, is based upon equity. The chief holds his court daily and when the multiplicity of affairs may suggest a systematic arrangement, each day of the week is appropriated to the transaction of special business. The chief seldom acts by deputy in concerns of justice addressed to him personally. He is daily accessible to the necessities of his people; his *dewan* is open to all applicants, and affairs demanding the cognizance of paramount authority are brought before him for adjudication. Murder and theft are unknown and capital punishment is never inflicted. Slavery is the

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extreme punishment which their usages confirm. In this sense fornication, which is a rare offence, is a capital crime. Their decisions ascribe equal turpitude to the individuals, both of whom become the property of the chief, who, if the criminals were unprotected, would sell them to the Uzbecks. Should an instance occur amongst the better class, the offence would be compounded by matrimonial immunity. The crime of adultery is said to be unknown amongst them, but the punishment would be slavery to the man—the wife would be at her husband's disposal, who could sell the woman, or return her to her parents, or protectors; if without family or influence the husband might strangle the woman with her hair! Death is the award of Mahomedan law; this would certainly be the result in a more civilized community.

A young Cashmerian girl, one of two wives belonging to my next neighbor in Cabul, was one night strangled by her husband as I have mentioned above, simply because she asked her husband for a better subsistence! In the opinion of her husband not to be contented with her condition implied a furtive design and the plotting of treason. Application was made next morning to the writer, as the principal person residing in the street, to bring the case before the Ameer. The man was a cavalier in the service of Nawaub Zeman Khan, my intimate friend, a nephew of the Ameer and one of the most influential men at court. My proceeding was considered by every individual as gratuitous and malapropos. The criminal readily proved by his family and servants that an indigestible supper brought on an attack of cholera, of which the woman suddenly died. The evidence was admitted and the man dismissed. It was not expedient for me to urge the matter, as the Nawaub remarked to me, *sotto voce*, in a friendly way, "why should you care about such affairs, leave us to manage our domestic concerns our own way!"

By the Mahomedan law a man may sell his wife, but the act is infamous to the husband, equally so with the similar proceeding of selling a wife at Smithfield with a halter around her neck. Nevertheless, depraved persons are

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not wanting in the lowest condition of life who would be willing to sell a wife, and they may be found amongst dealers in slaves ! A poor man estimates his wife at the value of two asses or it may be of a mule.

It is known that the Koran contains the religious law of Mahomedans, but the Hazarrahs have scarcely any other knowledge of this book than is derived from their traditional usages. They have no *Moolahs* or ecclesiastics and the voice of the *Muezzin* is scarcely ever heard, beyond the districts under the influence of Cabul, calling the faithful to prayers. Friday, which is devoted by Mahomedans to public communion for the purpose of united worship, is only known to them as a fête day. Public worship is not practised and except amongst the chiefs and a few of the first class in immediate connection with them the forms of Mahomedan worship are obsolete. The religious propensities of those who can afford the display may be seen in their eleemosynary practices and in their veneration for the sanctified pretensions of those so called holy men who claim to be the descendants of the Prophet. To these individuals they attribute miraculous powers by no means deprecated by such pretenders, and this belief, heightened into a venerated superstition by their ignorant imaginations, creates a sense of awe and feeling of profound respect for all the assumptions of that privileged class. They occupy here the place of the Prophet in more enlightened Mahomedan communities, and are adored by the Hazarrahs with the truthfulness due only to the deity ! All Mahomedans of the *Sheah* sect venerate the *Syeds*, or princes, as Mahomedan descendents are called, but the Hazarrahs worship them.

In their adoration of Ali they honor and venerate him as the deity. They are ignorant of the Mahomedan catechism and profession of faith which in a few words comprise the religion of Mahomed : " There is but one God and Mahomed is the Prophet of God." Their answers recur to a single point of faith : " I acknowledge Ali the God upon whom be peace and blessings." The following are the answers of the Hazarrahs when questioned of his faith,



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compared with the orthodox: Question, "Who are you?" The orthodox would answer "A slave," as would also the *Sheah*. Question, "The slave of whom?" Orthodox: "Of God." Hazarrah: "Of Ali." Question, "What are you?" Orthodox: "A Moslem." Hazarrah: "A slave of Ali." Question, "What is your profession of faith?" Orthodox: "There is no God but God and Mahomed is the Prophet of God." Hazarrah: "There is no God but Ali——."

The ignorance and simplicity of the Hazarrahs are proverbial with their neighbors and as intelligent beings they are rudely acquainted with the primary arts of civilization. Amongst the chiefs, Mahomed Reffee Beg is by far the most accomplished. He has ventured out of his mountain so far as to visit Kundooz, the capital of Muraad Beg. Since witnessing the supremacy of this prince in his centre of power, Mahomed Reffee has become undisguisedly ambitious of concentrating a similar power in his own country and is quite reckless of the means. He has in some measure succeeded, by matrimonial alliances, a conciliatory policy and treaties offensive and defensive. He has succeeded in centralizing the views of many subordinate leaders and is now, 1838, the ruling paramount. He is anxious to sustain his position by the introduction of foreign influence, and he would willingly attempt the permanent subjugation of his subordinate allies in conjunction with a foreign ally or the introduction of a more regular military system. In person he is a tall, portly man, about forty years of age, with the flattened nose and negro expression. He is fond of display and encourages a similar taste in his followers, who are a well habited and fine looking body of cavalry. They pride themselves on their elegant Cashmere turbans, with girdles of the same material. Their *tchogas* are of European broad cloth in the Uzbek style, and they effect the most brilliant colors. Their arms are a sword and shield, with a long spear or a matchlock. These are all more or less embellished and mounted with gold and silver ornamentation. Their saddles are mounted with gold and silver and their housings are made of scarlet

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broad cloth embroidered in gold and the brocade of Benares.

The Prince Mahomed Reffee succeeded his father a few years since in the possession of the hereditary estates to which he has made considerable permanent additions. He is a man of vigorous mind, said to be sometimes cruel in the execution of his will, much addicted to slave dealing, crafty, and temperate. He has very little regard for religion, but is no less devoted to the adoration of a *Syed* than the most ignorant and superstitious of his subjects! His life has been actively passed in military service and he is familiar with the habits and practices of a predatory soldier. He is bold in action, but cautious, and courageous, far surpassing in those qualities any of his competitors. His deportment is silent, modest and reserved, he is no less superior to his race in talents than in courage. His ruling passion is an insatiable ambition to achieve political power, but his means of acquisition are inefficient, although the resources that might be made subject to his control would, in the hands of an intelligent agent, establish the foundation of an empire! From an origin still more insignificant, as history informs us, the power of Chagatti and Timour was derived, which ultimately swept over the surface of Asia as a hurricane over the deep—and it may be added—with little less permanency; for tyranny and destruction, following in the train of those invaders and conquerors, served rather to anarchize than to subdue the hosts they trampled on!

Mahomed Reffee visited our camp when the Avghaun army, in progress toward Tatary, seized on the valley of Kamerd, which commands the passage from Toorkistaun into the Hazarrah country. On this occasion he had an opportunity of testing the convenience of a portable and general currency more suited to promiscuous interchange at a distance from home than the unwieldy medium of a sheep! Consistently with the usage of *soorsat*, he looked to Avghaun hospitality for the subsistence of himself and all his followers. Unluckily, he calculated without his host! It is true there was a general dearth of supplies

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in the camp and the vicinity, but as the Hazarrah chiefs had been invited, in token of submission and friendly alliance, to be present when the army seized this their frontier, and their acknowledgment of the Ameer's supremacy was necessary, the Prince of Cabul, by the ordinary usage of the country, should have provided for them at the sacrifice of his own comfort. The army, however, was suffering for food, and the right of forage and purveyance were the only means left to the Hazarrahs at that time—two very incompetent resources. The Avghaun commander-in-chief, Dost Mahomed's son, Akram Khan, was an avaricious and parsimonious young man who grudged himself the ordinary necessities of his condition and rank, so that the Hazarrah allies had but a poor prospect of subsistence—they being three marches away from home and also without any means of exchange. They were feasted the first day of their arrival, after which they were thrown upon their own resources! Having no gold, the bazaar was closed to them, and although solicited to an interview with letters of a most friendly tenure, now found themselves in the midst of strangers, without money and almost destitute of means!

In this dilemma, Syed Nujiff, his *peer* or holy father, applied to me, and I readily shared with Mahomed Reffee, and the chiefs accompanying him, the flour, rice, *roghum*, barley and sheep, a store of which I had accumulated and treasured up on our entry into Kamerd to meet the contingencies of an anticipated halt. The chief and his principal attaches became the writer's guests during the ten days of their sojourn at Kamerd. This Hazarrah prince, greatly to his astonishment and admiration, was entertained with a review of the brigade. The parade displayed the Ameer's power in an imposing light—the organization and discipline of the corps appeared to the chief an inconceivable achievement, and the rapid evolutions of the field battery surpassed the credibility of belief! He inquired whether Hazarrahs could be made soldiers and whether artillery could be constructed anywhere but in Cabul. This arm of the service attracted his serious attention and he appears to have formed a high estimation of those destructive engines.

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Silent and thoughtful, he evolved in his mind the immense power a regular military system would secure to him in the execution of his plans. This result was soon evidenced by the proposals he subsequently submitted to the writer.

Mahomed Reffee was accompanied in this interview by his brother, Meer Mahomed Ali Khan of Bolagh, Yakoob Beg of Lall, and Meer Mohib of Takhana, near Yakaolung, and several heads of clans in friendly alliance and about three hundred cavalry selected for their fidelity and fine appearance—the elite of his followers. The leaders were all men of athletic forms and noble bearing, and were armed with the promiscuous weapons already mentioned. Many of the soldiers had Persian daggers, Tatar knives and pistols, stuck in their waist belts like small arms around the masts of a privateer. Every man was a human frigate freighted with portentous belligerent impulses and together presented an imposing *toute ensemble*. Their amazement was unbounded in witnessing the facility and precision of a military force in the manœuvres of regular troops, the grasp of authority in the chief commands so strangely differing from the clamor and irregularity with which they were familiar! The order of silent discipline, the aspect of imposing grandeur and the excitement of a military review upon semi-barbarians, acquainted only with the primitive and circumscribed experience acquired amongst their crags and dells, impressed them with awe as they contemplated the approximation of a neighboring power commanding those novel and terrifying modes of aggression!

These Hazarrah princes, the principal and most influential of whom were present, invited me collectively and individually to visit them in their mountain homes. Mahomed Reffee secretly arranged a treaty with me, signing with the Koran and a guarantee of his *peer*. This treaty conveyed to me, under all the usual forms, his principality and its revenues in feudal service, binding himself and tribe to pay tribute for ever, stipulating for himself and his heirs by primogeniture the possession of *vizaret*. The absolute and complete possession of his government was legally

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conveyed to myself and heirs for ever. Our views, which of course contemplated the centralization of political power, were for the time postponed by the British conquest of Cabul! This irruption, so barbarous in its progress and disastrous in its results, left to me the title of "Prince of Ghoree," with the prospect of a reversion; this may still be realized, either with or without Mahomed Reffec's individual influence, as men of his ambitious views are never wanting in a community so divided as the Hazarrahs. The writer, when at Lahore, was invested by Shoojah-ool-Moolk with a dress of honour as *Unees u'Dowlah D'hador*<sup>1</sup> and the revcnues of Khoorum, a rich and extensive valley in the White Mountains south of Cabul. He was thus legally constituted Nawaub of Khoorum by the ancient régime and Prince of Ghoree as already stated.<sup>2</sup>

Indirectly I offered fairly to the English resident at Cabul, but with his deputy as an unscrupulous personal enemy, well acquainted with and jealous of my influence, I made no effort to achieve a position at the court after the English entry. Vainglorious and arrogant, the invaders plunged headlong toward destruction, *Les enfants au bal*, when men of diplomatic tact would have achieved national glory. They had not been a year in the country before the name of a European, previous to the invasion so popular, began to smell in the nostrils of the people, and they became a hateful and a hated race.

When the writer applied to Macnaghten<sup>3</sup> on behalf of Nawaub Zeman Khan, His Majesty, at the resident's request, issued a conciliatory *Dust Khut*<sup>4</sup> with a guarantee under the resident's broad seal. The Nawaub, on his return to Cabul had, at my request, restrained the extensive and powerful Ghiljie tribe from violence or even threats of disturbing the government, so called, of Shoojah. On his arrival at Cabul, he was allowed to re-enter his premises without a reception and the guarantees were violated by

<sup>1</sup> "King's nearest friend."

<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to state that Harlan was never in actual possession of his "paper" revenues.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William H. Macnaghten was the British minister at Cabul.

<sup>4</sup> Proclamation.



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making His Excellency a nominal prisoner at large ! Trusting to English faith, I found myself compromised. My duty was now to release the Nawaub. For this purpose plans were concocted, intrigues commenced with the "outs," and ultimately, as the world knows, invaders, king and government disappeared ! To resume, the Prince of Ghoree pledged the fidelity of himself, his heirs and tribe, to serve and obey ; the sovereignty of his possessions was secured to the writer and his heirs for ever.

A practical demonstration of artillery service was displayed in the capture of Sykaun, which fortress is historically considered an impregnable defence ! The submission of the Hazarrahjaut'h had been made a contingent of our success before this defence of the frontier, supposed to have been in existence at the period of Alexander's invasion of India. It was so probably ages anterior to the Alexandrine period—doubtless since the earliest settlement of the country—as the position is of itself a natural fortress that needed only a garrison to constitute an impregnable defence ! The appearance of this stronghold reminds one forcibly of the rock of aornus as described by Q. Curtius. Our operations made an impression on Mahomed Reffee, from which the English could have derived incalculable advantages. The results may have been delayed for the benefit of another power, which at the knell of Mahomedanism, so rapidly approaching, must become the inheritor of political supremacy in the East !

This rude people are without literature. Tradition is their repository of facts, and this being perverted by a gross superstition and the belief in supernatural agencies, they are naturally disposed to become the dupes of crafty strangers. Very little intelligence on the part of pretenders enables those adventurers to control the minds of the people. There is a science prevalent amongst them, if that term can be applied to the practices of fortune telling and professed wizards, resembling divination—performed by inspecting the shoulder blade of a lamb. The bone should be freed from the flesh by boiling. It is usually taken from the dish when *pillao* is served as food. When held between



the eye and the light, ramifications of vesicular organisation may be observed, converging from the sides towards the centre of the plate, where the tabular surface becomes partially transparent. The forms of the intermediate spaces comprised by the vessels are supposed to represent the indications sought! Armies are seen in the inspector's fancy approaching in order of battle, agents of action depicted in anticipation of forthcoming events and results pre-signified in miraculous conformity with the truth! These results being confined to ordinary and familiar incidents, the predictions, when true, may be ascribed to intelligence previously acquired. Many stories are related of true predictions, apparently well authenticated.

Their Avghaun neighbors also give implicit evidence of credulity in common with this simple people. Their women are thought to be the best oracles in this process of discovering future events. Travellers about to leave the house of a host have been warned of approaching robbers by these shrewd fortune tellers, and a few moments delay proved the truth of the caution. It is said that an Hazarrah laboring in the field, winnowing wheat, chanced to observe the shoulder blade of a sheep lying near. Curiosity induced him to take a view of the futurity, when, on taking up and inspecting this faithful monitor, he distinctly saw the approach of an Uzbek foray there prefigured as rapidly approaching the freshing floor. Time was not to be lost. Incautiously throwing away the bone, he forthwith plunged into the straw stack and snugly hid himself before the danger arrived upon the ground. The Uzbecks, however, stopped to gather up some of the grain in the nosebags of their horses. One of the party versed in the black art, seeing the bone, also became curious to ascertain future prospects, when, on inspection, he instantly discovered that an Hazarrah was hidden in the straw! It is probable the Uzbecks saw at a distance the flying chaff and the sudden disappearance of the agent suggested his whereabouts! Of course these results are lucky guesswork. I have myself had some notorious truths told to me by a blind man, who professed to discover future events in a phial of sand;

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this he held up before his sightless face and *saw* the revelations legibly written there !

The Hazarrahs indirectly purchase their wives. Although females are not put up for sale on these occasions, there is much bargaining with a lady's parents or guardian for the arrangement of an adequate recompense before an aspirant, especially amongst persons of rank and wealth, can effect the object of his wishes. The same custom I believe, prevails in more civilized and Christian communities, although the proceeding is usually veiled under a plausible pretext, which must in no sense appear to public view. With the Hazarrahs, this custom is blazoned forth as an object, as a creditable display—the price thus given being returned to the suitor with an equal addition in the form of a dowry. This consists of household necessities and a liberal outfit to the pair. A chief will receive for his daughter several thousand sheep—three or four thousand, according to his rank—many horses and several slaves, the value or more than the value of which the father gives to the groom for the necessary provision of an expensive establishment, as horses, slaves, felts, carpets, and clothing. The marriage settlement is thus arranged by an interchange of presents, the extent of which is contended for on the part of the lady's friends, with singular pertinacity, as the value of these presents are esteemed a proof of the female's appreciation and her family importance in the community. The marriage is celebrated at the house of the bride's father, with feasting, horse racing, target shooting, the interchange of presents amongst the guests, vociferous mirth, merriment and good humor. In conclusion, the bride is placed on a horse covered with elegant, valuable trappings, full of happy glee at the change in her condition, and rides alongside of her husband to their new home, preceded by drums, cymbals, guitars, and wind instruments.

The ceremony of uniting a couple in the bonds of matrimony are regulated by local usage, and except amongst the principal people, no attention is given to what is called the *Nika*, or betrothal, required by the Mahomedan law to be solemnized by the cady, who is the principal civil judicial

officer. The amount given as a woman's dowry secures good treatment on the part of her husband, or it must be returned to her in case of repudiation. The wife is reckoned amongst the chattels of a household and may be sold into slavery at the will of her husband.

The divorce is optional with the husband but never with the wife. The process being brief and without perplexity! The husband has simply to assert, in the presence of two male witnesses or of four if the witnesses be females, that he has divorced his wife. In the absence of witnesses, the divorce holds good if the husband casts three stones at the feet of his wife, exclaiming as he throws each stone, *Talack*, the word signifying divorce. The same custom prevails amongst the Avghauns. A divorce is of rare occurrence, the proceeding is attended with infamy to the husband unless for notorious cause. The term *Zuntalack*, which signifies wife divorced, applied to a man, conveys a reproach than which no abuse is more offensive and unbearable! For infidelity the husband would put his wife to death and he could plead the law in justification, but to divorce a woman is considered amongst Mahomedans a disreputable act; it never occurs except amongst the lowest class.

Among Hazarrahs the men are singularly uxorious and in the social order attribute to themselves a secondary position! This habit is fully reciprocated by the women, who are chaste and faithful in the discharge of their own peculiar duties. They have also been known to perform feats of personal bravery which rob the ruder sex of his courageous pre-eminence. Acts of intrepidity are related of their women in the execution of which they have justly become entitled to praise and admiration. In the charge of a confidential trust they have been known to sacrifice their lives. Prisoners are sometimes locked in ward and the key given to a slave girl, who assumes the responsibility in the absence of the men, with conscious pride of her ability to do her duty. The poor are restrained in the consummation of their connubial attachments and often continue unmarried in consequence of their inability

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to maintain a family, but celibacy is mostly caused by the women of that condition knowing the children of the poor are but too frequently sold to Uzbek slave dealers, who are the cruelest of taskmasters! Those of the higher altitudes and colder climates can labor only six months of the year in outdoor employments. Their services for that period are rewarded with a coarse frock or *berrick* and two sheep, the proprietor also furnishing the usual ration of two pounds of barley meal. In winter they subsist upon a pittance procured from the wealthy, to whose villages they are attached, for the discharge of domestic services, in addition to the little which may be saved as winter provision.

Polygamy exists, but is confined to the wealthy and their connections. Even these have seldom more than two wives; a family of two parents is by no means unusual. Amongst the chiefs polygamy is practised in many instances from avarice. The multiplication of wives in the families of these independent chiefs by marrying into wealthy and influential families increases the domestic circle with great advantage where an absolutely feudal condition prevails. The leader of a tribe is the proprietor of his people and domain, and therefore his power is extended by the acquisition of property and claims of territory on behalf of his offspring. These claims he sustains with the arm of power when necessary, and the pursuit of retribution seldom fails in a pretext for annexation!

The women of these mountaineers are allowed to mix in society unveiled. The same custom prevails in Khoorum, on the south of Cabul. The natives of this community are also *Sheahs*, but whether this unusual freedom from the Oriental restraint of veiling is to be traced to a laxity of principle or confidence in the women I have not ascertained. Amongst the Hazarrahs, I should ascribe a virtuous origin to the custom, and the fact that strangers rarely enter their country. The population of Khoorum, is in a great measure, made up of the Lohanee or migratory commercial tribe accustomed to travel, and have passed the point of civilization where innocence and simplicity are characteristic of

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motives. By this it appears that two very opposite causes have probably produced the same result ! The traditions of Moslem usage permit a female to unveil in the presence of her family, Jews, and Christians, or Hindoos. The three last exceptions are probably the result of that bigoted and arrogant supremacy assumed by the faithful over all infidels as a peculiar privilege conferred by their religion.

The wife and husband amongst the Hazarrahs are inseparable in public affairs. She sits with her husband, in the *divan*, dressed like him and booted, ready for the chase or even a military foray ! They would not go upon a distant expedition, but in civil dissensions and in border difficulties, to which their excursions are mostly confined, they generally participate. In the chase both sexes use the fire-lock expertly and accurately. They will gallop their unshod horses over a precipitous deer path, regardless of danger, and bring down the game at full speed. Females of the poor manage the household duties, assist in tending flocks, bringing in thorns, carrying water, and all the hard, laborious work.

The independent tribes are remarkable for temperance. Those of Beysoot and others under the Cabul revenue system are not unacquainted with the luxury of drunkenness, so that an occasional dram is a welcome indulgence ! But intoxicating liquors or habits of intemperance are not amongst the vices of the inhabitants. Tobacco is in general use amongst them, but many of the poor are without the means of acquiring this luxury, usually so accessible elsewhere : being of foreign growth, it is scarce and comparatively costly. The poor not being able to indulge individually, they are accustomed to combine their resources. *Culliooms*, or water pipes, are kept at all stopping places for travellers, at the cell doors of ascetics and dirvishes, throughout all the countries inhabited by Mahomedans. These *religieus*, who have frequently turned out thugs of the land, keep a pile of ignited *chelma*, or the same substance from camels or goats, the latter being naturally formed into convenient balls, to accommodate smokers

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with a light. The plan of economy practised by the poor is to allow the water of the *cullioom* to become thoroughly saturated with the empyromatic oil abstracted from the smoke in passage through the fluid. It is never changed until exhausted by their mode of using it. Those addicted to smoking have the water changed on every occasion of refreshing with the weed. The saturated fluid is mixed by the poor with dried and powdered *chelma* and substituted for tobacco! Than which a more drastic substance cannot be conceived. This is drawn into their lungs by deep inspirations! To one unaccustomed to this horrid dose, the effect is to bewilder, and if incautiously used, would cause epilepsy.

All Mahomedans are addicted to the worship of saints. Their tombs are called *Zearitgah*, or place of visit for the purpose of adoration, and the presence of a holy corpse entombed in a country becomes an object of devotion to the inhabitants, who suppose the influence of sanctity ascribed to holy men secured to them the blessings they may seek at the graves of those decedent dispensers of fate! A *Zearitgah* was pointed out to me in Hazarrahjaut'h which the villagers had erected over the remains of a holy *Syed* famous for his miraculous powers. This *Syed*, confiding in their known reverence for the Prophet's descendants and by no means dreaming of the terrible result, ventured amongst that ignorant and incongruous race to solicit the religious alms that superstition and credulity confer upon a vagrant priesthood. The villagers, in their excess of piety, improved the occasion to secure a permanent blessing in the form of a *Zearitgah* that would guarantee to themselves and their posterity the composition of their sins for all future time! From motives of profound veneration and the neutralization of Satanic influences, they killed their guest and buried the body in a conspicuous place, over which a *Zearitgah* was erected and the deed duely commemorated. To this holy edifice the conscientious sinner daily resorted to perform his devotions and solicit the rewards of piety.

The Hazarrahs observe the feast of *Ramazan*, but do

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not celebrate the *Mohurrim* with the extravagant ceremonies of more civilized professing *Sheahs*, who annually commemorate, by extravagant lamentations, the death of Ali's sons, Hussien and Hosein. These demonstrations of intense grief are periodically repeated with all the freshness witnessed on the day those votaries perished in battle ! <sup>1</sup>

In a country where nature has been so inhospitable, this virtue could scarcely be expected to exist amongst the inhabitants. Accordingly, we find that a stranger would meet with insurmountable obstacles in his intercourse with the inhabitants. If he was poor and unprotected, he would probably be impounded as a stray and sold to the Uzbecks. If a person of note, he might secure good treatment if protected by neighboring influence and promises secured upon the contingency of a safe transit. He would find the chiefs and especially their women a rapacious crew difficult to satisfy. The policy of deprecating violence by repeated asseverations of exhausted resources and the prospect of an installment secured by a *Syed* or *peerzada* on condition of safe delivery would be necessary to avoid the fate of the goose with the golden egg. The traveller would be importuned by the women for presents, and he should exhibit nothing but what he intended to bestow. An agent of the Ameer of Cabul attempting to reach Herat by this route was imprisoned for a ransom, although a *Syed* and confidential servant of His Highness. But his secular employment was probably the cause of this proceeding.

Yakoob Beg of Lall has been known to dismiss a guest with a dress of honor and promises of protection, with many protestations of especial friendship and considerations of personal regard, giving the deluded stranger a guide to the Eimauk frontier, which tribe is at hereditary enmity with the Hazarrahs ; then to dispatch a body of freebooters in disguise, and his late guest was plundered

<sup>1</sup> Only Husain was killed in the battle of Kerbela or Karbala in the year A.D.680 ; Hasan, who succeeded Ali as Caliph, had been poisoned many years before the battle.

of all his prudence had reserved from Yakoob Beg's friendly depredations!

Those districts subject to the Ameer of Cabul may be safely visited. The highways of Avghanistaun under Dost Mahomed's rule are free of danger, it being a principle with him that no one shall meddle with honey of his hive but himself. The independent Hazarrah chiefs are all predatory and indulge in unrelenting contempt for the laws of hospitality! In travelling through their own country they exact subsistence from the people on the purveyance principle, in excess of the regular imposts. This custom is a means of plunder and oppressive tyranny.

The inhabitants live in villages dispersed widely over an extensive and unproductive country whose sterility of soil and inclemency of climate obliges them to resort for subsistence in great part to the produce of their flocks. They inhabit fixed domiciles, are indolent and have much leisure arising from pastoral pursuits. Their time is fruitlessly wasted in story telling and their inquisitive curiosity is a prominent feature of their national character. A villager employed with his plough in the field will leave his occupation, and seating himself in the road of a stranger, detain him an hour with innumerable profitless inquiries concerning the affairs of the next village. Their customs of salutations are the same as prevail amongst all Mahomedans. Those who have much intercourse with Cabul are more polished than the independent tribes, who are decidedly rude, simple and barbarous.

Their food is mutton, boiled and made into a *pillao*, or roasted on a skewer in small pieces called *kabob*, good bread of wheat flour or unleavened bread of barley meal. The poor seldom indulge in animal food. Horse flesh is esteemed and beef is also eaten, but the value of bullocks and horses precludes their flesh from being much used. It is only when about to expire from disease or accident that they are killed. The chiefs occasionally treat themselves to a feast upon horse flesh. With the exception of *pillao* and *kabob* their meat is roasted in large lumps and served to the guests, who cut off pieces with a dagger



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or knife carried in their belts, each one according to his appetite. They have no vegetables of home production in the upper climate, but in the low, fertile valleys of a temperate medium, fruits are abundant, such as peaches, apricots, pomegranates, figs, English walnuts, the pistachia nut, and fructification common to Kandahar. They eat their bread soaked in broth whenever occasion may serve, using no spoons. Barley bread and butter, milk, is the common food of the poor. Some of them, in common with the Tatars, drink fermented mare's milk to inebriate themselves.

They have a rude musical instrument in common use made of a gourd and three strings, which is accompanied by the voice; a reed, resembling a flageolet; a small drum; and cymbals. These rude and incomplete instruments, which contain the first principles of the magnificent harp and military chorus of martial music, are not more distant from their elaborate and exquisite developments, than the people themselves are below the elegant and civilized inhabitants of metropolitan refinement! They are a merry, unsophisticated race, fickle, passionate and capricious. They are in manners, timid and frank; quiet and submissive in the presence of superiors, they never resent an act of oppression. They cannot, however, be called a stupid people. Those who come to Cabul, where many resort for employment in winter, shew capacities for receiving instruction surpassing, in many instances, the shrewdness of the Cabulees! There were one hundred and fifty Hazarrahs in the regular regiment, who in every respect, were the best soldiers in the corps. They were frugal, provident, steady, submissive, and intelligent. They possessed more physical strength and would toil through more labor in fatigue duty than their comrades. Indefatigable and persevering upon two pounds of barley bread, they dragged the artillery over those almost impassable barriers, through rivers in the midst of winter, surmounting all obstacles with unparalleled fortitude and determination, without grumbling at the hardships of the service. In the storming of Derrah i Esnoff these men

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were amongst the first to mount the breach, along with the regimental colors. Their firmness and bravery, and more especially, their fidelity to their officers, were creditably displayed on many occasions. Fidelity is a quality for which they are most remarkable. Treason is a crime unknown to them. For this reason they are preferred as slaves by the Uzbecks and Cabulees before all other people.

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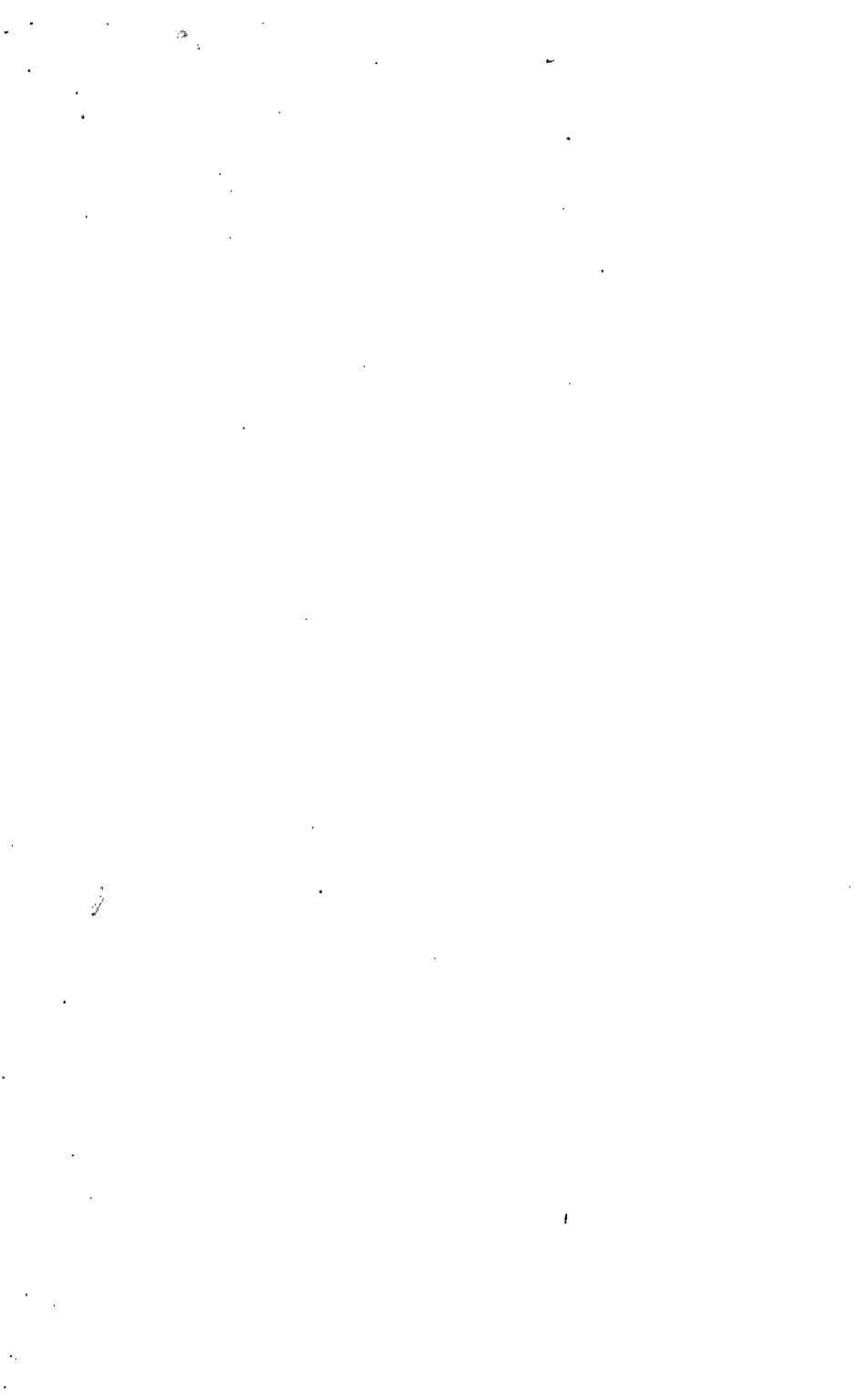
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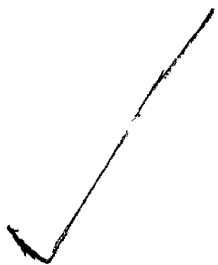
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